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COMBATING LABOUR MARKET DISADVANTAGE AMONG ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

BALJINDER VIRK

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

Many people from ethnic minorities experience disadvantage in the labour market in comparison to the white population. In general, they have lower employment rates, suffer higher levels of unemployment, longer periods of unemployment, occupational and industrial segregation and lower earnings. However, different groups experience different levels of disadvantage. Whilst African Asians and Chinese experience broad parity with the white population, Indians and Caribbeans experience some disadvantage and Pakistanis and Bangladeshis experience 'severe' disadvantage. There are a number of factors that may result in this disadvantage. These include alienation, discrimination, family structures, migration, stereotyping and expectations, and the structure of the economy among other factors affecting the characteristics of and the demand for ethnic minorities in the labour market.

In terms of policy responses, there is evidence that mainstream government training programmes fail to meet the needs of ethnic minorities. Other measures such as positive action are under-researched. This research, therefore, evaluates a 'race'-based policy measure that aims to combat labour market disadvantage among ethnic minority groups, namely that of positive action. Positive action can provide opportunities for ethnic minorities to develop their potential under the terms of reference of the Race Relations Act (1976) and specifically under section 37 of the Act.

This thesis reports upon research based on an in-depth case study in Bristol and evaluates the positive action training programme delivered by an ethnic minority training provider. A survey of participants, secondary data analysis of management information and qualitative interviews provide information on the experiences of trainees and their views of the programme, together with the views of key informants. The findings show that post-training, rates of employment are particularly high and overall the experiences of the trainees are positive. This indicates that positive action training represents an effective means of addressing the majority of the roots of labour market disadvantage experienced by many of those from ethnic minorities.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except, where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED:  DATE:. 15.04.08

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA - Affirmative Action

ADF - Adviser Discretion Fund

AIP - Advisory Interview Process

AMA - Advanced Modern Apprenticeship

BET - Basic Employability Training

BLI - Black Leadership Initiative

BTEG - Black Training and Enterprise Group

CCTE - Chamber of Commerce, Training and Enterprise

CEED - Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development

CRE - Commission for Racial Equality

DfEE - Department for Education and Employment

DWP - Department for Work and Pensions

EAR - Economic Activity Rate

ELTEC - East Lancashire Training and Enterprise Council

ES - Employment Service

ESOL - English for Speakers of Other Languages

ET - Employment Training

ETF - Environmental Task Force

ETO - Education and Training Opportunities

EZ - Employment Zone

FMA - Foundation Modern Apprenticeship

FTET - Full-Time Education and Training

GST - Government-Supported Training

IAP - Intensive Activity Period

ILO - International Labour Organisation

JSA – Jobseeker's Allowance

JVP - Joint Venture Partnership

LEC - Local Enterprise Council

LFS - Labour Force Survey

LSC - Learning and Skills Council

MA - Modern Apprenticeship

MEAG - Minority Ethnic Advisory Group

MSC - Manpower Services Commission

ND25+ - New Deal for those aged 25 and over/ New Deal for the Long-term Unemployed

NDLP - New Deal for Lone Parents

NDLTU - New Deal for the Long-term Unemployed

NDPA - New Deal Personal Adviser

NDYP - New Deal for Young People

NT - National Traineeship

NVQ - National Vocational Qualification

PAT - Positive Action Training

PATH - Positive Action Training in Housing

PSA - Public Service Agreement

PSI - Policy Studies Institute

RRA - Race Relations Act

TDO - Training and Development Officer

TEC - Training and Enterprise Council

TfW - Training for Work

TOPS - Training Opportunities Scheme

TUC - Trade Union Congress

UoD - Unit of Delivery

VS - Voluntary Sector (option)

WBTA - Work-Based Training for Adults

WBTYP - Work-Based Training for Young People

WESTEC - Western Training and Enterprise Council

YOPS - Youth Opportunities Scheme

YT - Youth Training

YTS - Youth Training Scheme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Is it 'cos I is black?

Ali G (1999)

Above is a cliché of the comedian Ali G, though grammatically incorrect. He is a learned graduate of Cambridge University who poses as a street-wise 'black' male, dressed in a garish tracksuit and laden with ostentatious amounts of gold, an exaggerated, stereotypical look. He often asks the question above in a satirical way. There is, however, seriousness beyond the comedy and hilarity.

Britain has become an ethnically diverse society. This is largely due to immigration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan since the Second World War (Pilkington, 2003). Increasingly, however, the growth of the ethnic minority population can be ostensibly ascribed to the natural rate of growth (Owen, 1992-1995). Ethnic minority groups have faced problems in many spheres of their lives, including housing, the receipt of public services and employment. Recently the Macpherson inquiry and the urban disturbances of 2001 in the northern cities of England (Bradford, Burnley and Oldham) refocused attention on the continuing significance of ethnic disadvantage for public policy (Mason, 2003). In particular, in the labour market, the subject matter of this thesis, the position of ethnic minorities is by and large one of disadvantage. In general, they experience higher levels of unemployment, longer periods of unemployment, occupational and industrial segregation and lower pay compared to the white population. Since the 1990s, however, there has been greater recognition of the diversity among the different ethnic groups (Modood et al., 1997; Pilkington, 2000). Such differences may be attributable to factors such as lower human capital; there is, however, evidence that ethnic minorities experience 'ethnic penalties' (Heath and McMahon, 1997; Heath and Cheung, 2006) or disadvantages which remain after controlling for characteristics, such as age and human capital compared to the

British white population of the same age and human capital. There is no single measure of labour market disadvantage (Green and Owen, 1996) and such disadvantages or penalties may be due to a number of factors. Berthoud (2000) presents six factors that may result in the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities; these are: alienation; discrimination; expectation and stereotypes; family structure; migration; and the structure of the economy.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

This thesis evaluates two distinct approaches aimed at combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities. The first of these is mainstream government training programmes, such as the New Deal for the Unemployed and the other is a 'race'-based policy called positive action training. The latter has been under-researched and although it is recognised that positive action can also be undertaken with respect to sex and disability under the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) respectively, this is beyond the scope of this research. Therefore the focus of this research is positive action training with respect to ethnic minority groups, as permitted by section 37 of the Race Relations Act (1976).

The policy solution to combat labour market disadvantage in the form of government training programmes has in some cases further disadvantaged these groups. This thesis therefore argues, largely in the form of a literature review, that government-funded training programmes do not meet the needs of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities are under-represented on such programmes per se or on the most prestigious elements of the programme, furthermore, there are disparities between the outcomes of ethnic minority participants and white participants.

The research is based on a case study of an ethnic minority voluntary sector organisation, which describes itself as a 'community enterprise', based in St Paul's in the city of Bristol. Among its activities the organisation is a training

provider of positive action training programmes. The research study employs a multi-method approach, based on the views of the programme participants, interviews, a survey and secondary data analysis. The aims and objectives of the research are presented below.

1.2 AIMS OF STUDY

The research aims are:

- To ascertain the dimensions of labour market disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups.

- To identify the factors or barriers that affect ethnic minorities from entering the labour market and career progression.

- To define the key characteristics of the participants of the positive action training programme.

- To evaluate the positive action training programme delivered by an ethnic minority training provider, with particular emphasis on the experience of the positive action trainees.

- To determine the key strengths and weaknesses of the positive action training programme and to establish the key components of a successful positive action training programme and social policy implications.

1.2.1 Research Questions

The main research question is:

Is positive action training effective in combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities?

The research will also set out to establish answers to questions such as:

- How many participants moved into jobs post-positive action training?
- How many participants gained qualifications during the training period and at what level?
- What other skills and training were received?
- What were the barriers to employment or career development pre-training?
- What were the participants' experiences of the training programme?
- What were the most useful aspects of positive action training?
- What were the key strengths and weaknesses of the programme?
- What improvements could be made to strengthen the programme?

1.3 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The terminology in this area is complicated if not controversial. There have been a number of shifts in the terminology. The earliest studies of British race relations used the terms 'Negroes', 'coloured' or 'coloured migrant', followed by 'immigrants', 'coloured immigrants' or 'Commonwealth immigrants', followed by the use of 'New Commonwealth and Pakistan ethnic origin'. The mid-1970s saw a shift to terms such as 'West Indian', 'African Asian' and 'Indians and Pakistanis'. In fact, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis now distinguish themselves with British or even their religion or their place of birth hyphenated with the country of origin, for example, British-Muslim or British-Indian. In addition, the experiences of Black-Caribbeans and Black-Africans are different from each other. Although in researching the different groups, problems arise in

studying small groups such that in the Labour Force Survey (LFS), data for Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups are often amalgamated otherwise data for individual groups would be too small and considered unreliable.

This thesis uses the term 'ethnic minority'. An ethnic group is defined as:

> An ethnic group is a collectivity within a larger population having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements which define the group's identity, such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance. Members of an ethnic group are conscious of belonging to the group.
>
> (Bulmer, 1999)

The term implies commonalities of language, religion, identity and national origins. Bulmer, as many other sociologists and anthropologists, sees the core element of ethnicity to do with 'memories of a shared past'. However, in defining the term there is a debate surrounding competing theories. In particular, Ratcliffe (2004) argues that there is too much emphasis on internal strategies, hopes and aspiration and too little on emphasis on the external social context and in general there was too much emphasis on traditional customs clashing with the modern world. 'Race' / ethnicity also tended to take precedence over class and social stratification.

Although the term ethnic minority is used in this thesis, the literature referred to in the thesis may refer to terms such as 'black', and are largely kept as the authors have presented them. It is also recognised that ethnic diversity plays an increasing role in the level of disadvantage among different ethnic minority groups. However, this research does not necessarily look at the results for each group separately (largely due to available data), although where differences are present, they are made explicit. It is also recognised that gender plays an important role in this research, although this is referred to on occasions, this is not the main focus of the study.

Whilst the diversity between the ethnic minority groups is being recognised, the 'white' category may not be sufficient and some have argued: "...ethnic diversity

of whites continues to be ignored..." (Pilkington, 2000:186). That said there has been some recognition as 'white-Irish' was a categorisation on the 2001 Census. Although it is not assumed that all the white population hold an advantageous position, however, evidence continues to accumulate that ethnic minorities still experience discrimination in both direct and indirect forms (Wrench and Solomos, 1993) and more recently institutional racism (Macpherson, 1999).

Despite being devoid of scientific validity, the concept of 'race' retains a central position in the contemporary mind. The original meaning of 'race' was grounded in biological difference, though 'race' is now widely acknowledged as a social and political construct and not biological or genetic fact. Therefore, as mentioned earlier the term 'ethnic minority' is used in this thesis, as it is a more commonly accepted concept than 'race', as argued by Mason:

> This reflects the now orthodox position that the concept of race is, at best, an outmoded relic of past scientific error and, at worst, a strategically manipulated ideological category.
> Mason (2003:10)

However, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'race' are often used interchangeably in both policy and academia. Moreover, the term 'race' is enshrined in legislation such as the Race Relations Act (RRA), the literature on legislation refers to racial groups rather than ethnic groups, and often terms such as 'race relations' are used, as will be evident in Chapter Four. According to the Parekh Report (2000):

> The term 'race' is of essential importance, since it refers to the reality of racism. It is unhelpful, however, to the extent that it reflects and perpetuates the belief that the human species consists of separate races. A further disadvantage is that overuse can deflect attention from cultural and religious aspects of racism as distinct from those that are concerned with physical appearance. It needs often, therefore, to be complemented with other terms.
> Parekh Report (2000:xxiv)

It is also important to note here that more recently there are arguments that 'class' is also significant in such discussions (Fenton, 1999; Wilson, 1999). It has been found that social class background plays a role in outcomes, though the extent to which depends on the ethnic group (Platt, 2005). This also addresses the assumption often taken of white homogeneity highlighted above. On the other hand, Carter argues that:

> Thus racism and discrimination affect middle-class ethnic minority groups as well as working-class ethnic groups. While the nature of the racism that they experience may be qualitatively different, what determines their relative position in an occupational hierarchy is ethnic origin rather than ownership or non-ownership of the means of production.
>
> Carter (2003:29)

Inequalities in employment can be seen as a cause and a consequence of a whole range of other inequalities ranging from social status, education and housing. In considering the problems faced by ethnic minorities in the labour market and looking at the causes of such problems, it is important to clearly define the concepts of discrimination and disadvantage and convey how they are interrelated.

Discrimination is referred to as:

> ... the possibility that within the general pattern of inequality in employment, individuals and groups may be selected for less – or occasionally for more – favourable treatment on the grounds of characteristics attributed to the individual or group which turn out to be erroneous, prejudiced or unverifiable generalizations and which, above all, are irrelevant to the issue of whether or not the person or persons concerned are capable of performing the job in question.
>
> Braham and Rhodes (1982:8)

In contrast, disadvantage is referred to as:

> ... the way in which there is unequal access to resources within the population as a whole.
>
> Braham and Rhodes (1982:8)

Braham and Rhodes (1982) take the approach that disadvantage in employment is not exclusively explained by discrimination, but wider patterns of discrimination and disadvantage. Also they put forward the point that 'Black' (used to describe ethnic minorities) workers were put into such patterns at the time of their arrival and since, therefore their position has also been determined by the economy and technological changes. Similarly, Fenton et al.(1984) describe disadvantage as a much broader term than discrimination, and one which is used to refer to a whole collection of not only inequalities of resources, but also of opportunities and obstacles. Discrimination may be better illustrated as something 'a' does to 'b'; however, disadvantage is something 'b' has or suffers from (Fenton et al., 1984).

A more recent and sophisticated explanation is provided by Heath and McMahon (1997) who define ethnic penalties as the disadvantages that ethnic minorities experience in the labour market compared with British whites of the same age and human capital. Ethnic penalties are estimated by carrying out statistical analysis of various outcomes, controlling for factors such as age, educational level and other relevant characteristics as well as for ethnicity. They emphasise that ethnic penalties must not be equated with discrimination per se, although discrimination is likely to be one major component of the ethnic penalties.

Therefore ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in the labour market even in the absence of direct discrimination from employers. There are a number of factors that contribute to this disadvantage. Overall the current labour market position of ethnic minorities lags behind the white population (Ratcliffe, 2004), although as already mentioned above there is diversity between the groups. On the one hand, whilst those of Indian and Chinese origin compare favourably with whites, on the other hand African-Caribbeans, Pakistani and Bangladeshis (and especially males within these groups) continue to lag behind (Modood et al., 1997).

A further complication is that there is also polarisation within the individual groups:

> No community is systematically and comprehensively disadvantaged, for in all there are success stories as well as unemployment and poverty. When communities are compared with each other, and with themselves over time, attention must be paid to the extent of internal polarisation between high and low achievers. The degree of polarisation is currently lower among Indians than among Bangladeshis and Pakistanis. It is high among African-Caribbeans.
>
> Parekh (2000:194)

There are other terms, such as indirect discrimination and institutional racism that are often referred to. Indirect discrimination is defined as:

> ... concerned with the imposition of a condition or requirement – not necessarily formally adopted, but operating within an organisation – that is not in itself discriminatory, but in its application it operates to the disadvantage of particular racial groups where members of that group are proportionately less able to comply with the condition or requirement. Indirect discrimination is unlawful if it cannot be justified on non-racial grounds.
>
> Commission for Racial Equality (1999)

Institutional racism is at the organisational level rather than at the individual level, for example The Metropolitan Police were found to be institutionally racist. The Inquiry into the Murder of Stephen Lawrence (The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, 1999) defined institutional racism as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people.

The inquiry also acknowledged that its definition of institutional racism was not definitive. It stated that the concept was principally intended as a tool to help analyse the dynamics of a group or organisation and that it needed to be refined over time. The Parekh Report takes the concept of institutional racism one step further by defining its various interacting components, one of which is the lack of positive action, which is defined below.

Positive action is a policy measure allowed under the Race Relations Act (1976):

> Positive action is a range of measures which employers can lawfully take to encourage and train people from underrepresented (racial and ethnic groups) in order to help them overcome disadvantages in competing with other applicants. However, selection for interviews and jobs must be based on judgements of individuals' ability to carry out the work required.
>
> Taylor (2000:159)

Positive action is often confused with positive discrimination which involves the deliberate targeting of selection procedures and standards so as to ensure proportionate representation of disadvantaged groups in particular occupations, and to ensure that they receive the remuneration that any other like person would, discounting any discrimination in terms of ethnicity. Whereas positive discrimination is a commitment to minimum standards and individuals are selected on the basis of their group membership as opposed to being the best qualified. It is important to understand the difference as positive discrimination is unlawful in Great Britain under the RRA (1976).

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The thesis is organised in eight chapters. Drawing on the background outlined in this introduction Chapter Two describes the position of ethnic minorities in the labour market in Great Britain. The second half of the chapter details the varying factors explaining the disadvantages experienced by ethnic minorities in the labour market. Chapter Three opens with a brief comment on the policy solutions for combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities, before focusing on reviewing mainstream government policy measures in view of the experience and outcomes of ethnic minority groups. In particular it details the current policy measures of the New Deal with respect to ethnicity. Chapter Four considers positive action training as another policy measure to combat labour market disadvantage. It outlines Great Britain's race relations legislation and positive action, and reviews the available literature on positive action. Chapter Five details the research design and the research methods used for the empirical research for this thesis. The rationale for the choice of the methods is discussed, the case study under examination is presented, and the limitations of the research are briefly set out. Chapter Six then goes on to present the findings of the evaluation of the positive action training programme that is under review in this thesis, and Chapter Seven provides analyses and discussion of the results; it also discusses the social policy implications of this research, along with suggestions for further research. The thesis draws to a close with Chapter Eight, a summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POSITION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Thurrow (1969) distinguishes four dimensions along which ethnic minorities might suffer labour market disadvantage. These are lower earnings, higher unemployment, lower stocks of human capital (being denied educational and training opportunities) and occupational crowding in less desirable jobs. This chapter contextualises the position of ethnic minority groups in the labour market. It looks at the dimensions suggested by Thurrow as well as some other aspects of the labour market with respect to ethnicity, including economic activity, employment rates and industries of employment, which can all be drawn together to portray the relative position of ethnic minority groups to the white population. It highlights the great diversity not only among the different groups, but also by age and gender in order to gauge the level of disadvantage experienced. It does this by using data from the Census, Labour Force Surveys and the comprehensive Fourth National Survey of the Policy Studies Institute (PSI). This chapter then goes on to review the literature on the explanations for such disadvantage. In particular, it draws on Berthoud's (2000) six factors that affect the labour market demand and supply of ethnic minorities.

2.1 ETHNIC MINORITES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

This section provides information on various labour market indicators with respect to ethnic minorities. It presents data on the ethnic minority population in Britain, the economic activity and employment rates of ethnic minorities in the labour market, the types of employment they are employed in, the rates of unemployment they experience and their earnings.

2.1.1 Ethnic Minority Population in Britain

The ethnic minority population in Britain has grown since the Second World War due to a number of factors. It has grown as a result of immigration in response to a demand for labour, refugees seeking asylum and also due to the natural rate of growth. People from the New Commonwealth countries came to Britain to fill the labour shortages in foundries in the Midlands, textile mills in the North, transport industries, notably in London, and throughout the National Health Service, generally occupying low-paid jobs. The bulk of the immigration from the Caribbean took place during 1955-64, then from India and Pakistan during 1965-74 and much later from Bangladesh, during 1980-84 (Peach, 1996). However, African Asians did not come to Britain as a result of labour supply, but were refugees from Uganda in the early 1970s. Similarly, more recently other refugee communities have settled in Britain as a result of war or persecution from their native country (The Parekh Report, 2000).

The ethnic minority population of the United Kingdom was calculated at 4.6 million at the 2001 Census, representing 7.9% of the total population. Table 2.1 shows the breakdown of the different ethnic groups. The largest ethnic minority group was the Indian group, making up almost a quarter of the whole ethnic minority population, though still only representing 1.8% of the total population of the United Kingdom. The second largest ethnic minority group was the Pakistani group, representing 16.1% of the total ethnic minority population. The smallest ethnic minority groups were the Chinese group and 'Other ethnic groups', making up only 5.3% and 5% of the total ethnic minority population respectively.

Table 2.1: Ethnic composition of the population of the UK, 2001

Ethnic Group	Total Population (Number)	Total Population (%)	'Non-white' Population (%)
Total population	**58,789,194**	**100**	
White	**54,153,898**	**92.1**	
All ethnic minorities	**4,635,296**	**7.9**	**100**
Mixed	**677,117**	**1.2**	**14.6**
Indian	1,053,411	1.8	22.7
Pakistani	747,285	1.3	16.1
Bangladeshi	283,063	0.5	6.1
Other Asian	247,664	0.4	5.3
All Asian and Asian British	**2,331,423**	**4.0**	**50.3**
Black Caribbean	565,876	1.0	12.2
Black African	485,277	0.8	10.5
Black Other	97,585	0.2	2.1
All Black and Black British	**1,148,738**	**2.0**	**24.8**
Chinese	**247,403**	**0.4**	**5.3**
Other ethnic groups	**230,615**	**0.4**	**5.0**

Source: Census 2001

The number of people who belong to an ethnic minority group has grown since the previous Census. The 1991 Census calculated the ethnic minority population to be three million people, which incidentally was the first time the ethnicity question was asked; this has grown by 1.6 million over the ten-year period to 2001 (or by 35%). The growth of the ethnic minority population can be largely ascribed to the natural growth rate. Almost 50% of all ethnic minority people were born in the UK, although a much higher proportion of the Black Other group were born in the UK (84%) (Owen, 1992-1995). Subsequently, ethnic minority groups have a much younger age structure than the white population, as can be seen in Table 2.2. Almost one-half (46.8%) of all ethnic minorities are aged between 0-24, compared to just under one-third (30.1%) of the white population of the same age. Conversely, only 4.8% of ethnic minorities are of pensionable age, compared to 15.9% of the white group. Some ethnic minority groups also tend to have a much higher number of children per family; 33% of Pakistanis and 42% of Bangladeshis have four or more children in comparison to only 4% of the white group (Modood et al., 1997).[1] The implication is that the groups will represent an expanding proportion of the labour market in the future. On current

[1] It must be specified that this is not so for all groups: only 11% of Indians and 3% of Chinese have four or more children.

projections of the working-age population, ethnic minority groups will represent 7.9% of the total in Great Britain by the year 2009 (Metcalf and Forth, 2000).

Table 2.2: Age structure by ethnicity in Great Britain, 1999

Age / Ethnic Group	0 - 4	5 – 15	16 – 24	25 – 44	45 – 59/64	Pensionable age
White (%)	5.8	13.8	10.5	29.8	24.1	15.9
Ethnic minority (%)	10.7	21.4	14.7	33.6	14.7	4.8

Source: LFS, spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000

2.1.2 Economic Activity and Employment Rates

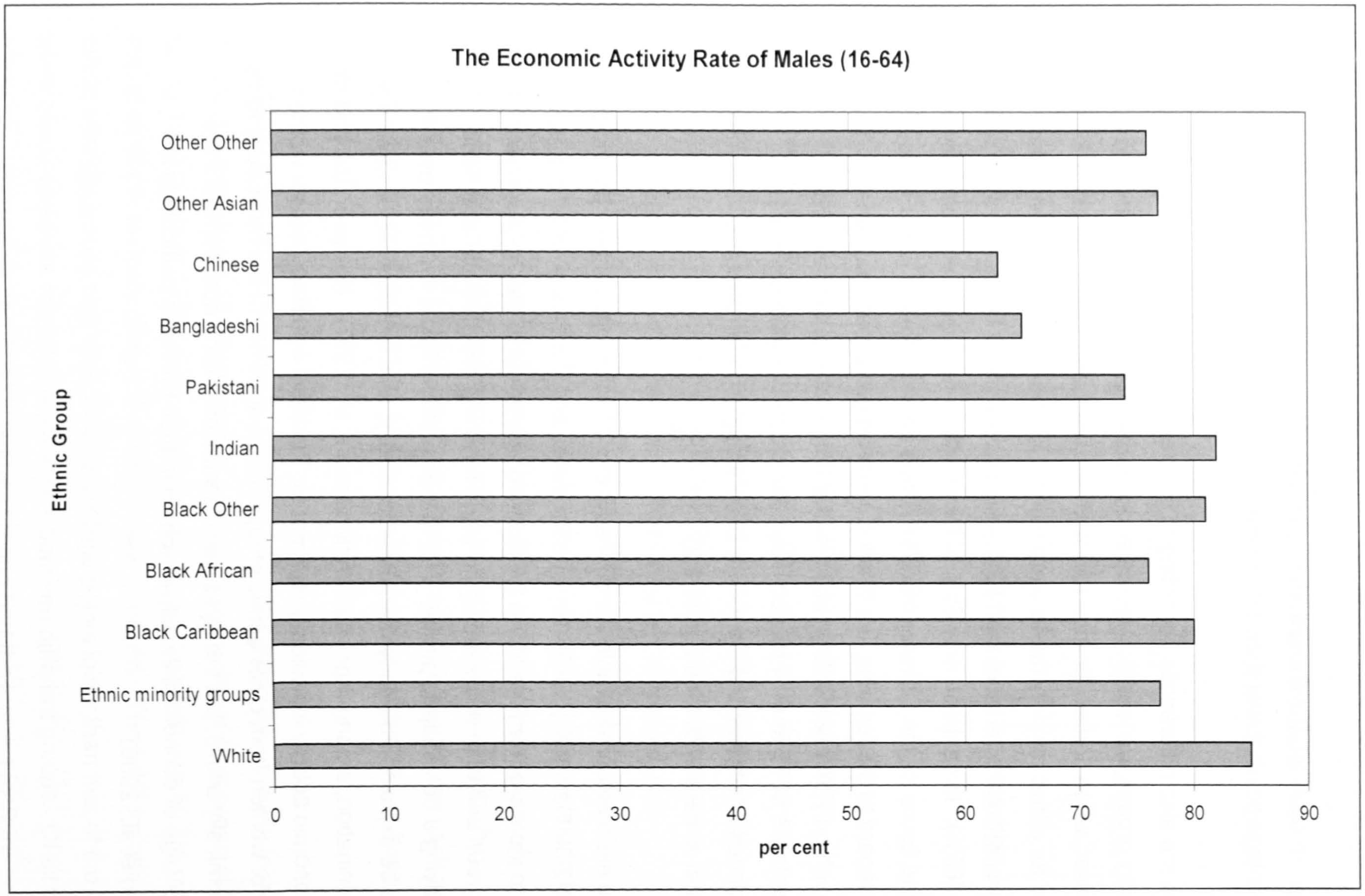
In Great Britain in the year 2000, 2.4 million ethnic minority people were estimated to be of working age, representing 6.7% of the total working-age population (Twomey, 2001). There are, however, marked variations in the economic activity and employment patterns of the different ethnic groups. The economically active population includes people who are employed, self-employed, participants in government employment and training programmes, those doing unpaid family work and those who are unemployed according to the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) definition. The ILO's definition of unemployment includes those aged 16 and over who are without a job, those who are available to work in the next two weeks, those who have been seeking a job in the last four weeks or those who are waiting to start a job that has been already obtained.

In 1999/2000 the economic activity rate (EAR) for the population as a whole was 79.2% (for those aged 16-59 for women and 16-64 for men) (LFS, average of spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000). The EAR for the white group was 80.1% and that of all ethnic minority groups was much lower at 66.7%. The EAR for all ethnic minority groups was thus 13.4 percentage points lower than that of the white group; however, the rate varied widely between different groups. Of all the ethnic minority groups, the Black Caribbean group had the highest EAR in 1999/2000, which was only 1.9 percentage points lower than that of the white

group. In contrast, the Bangladeshi group had the lowest EAR, being 33.6 percentage points lower than that of the white population.

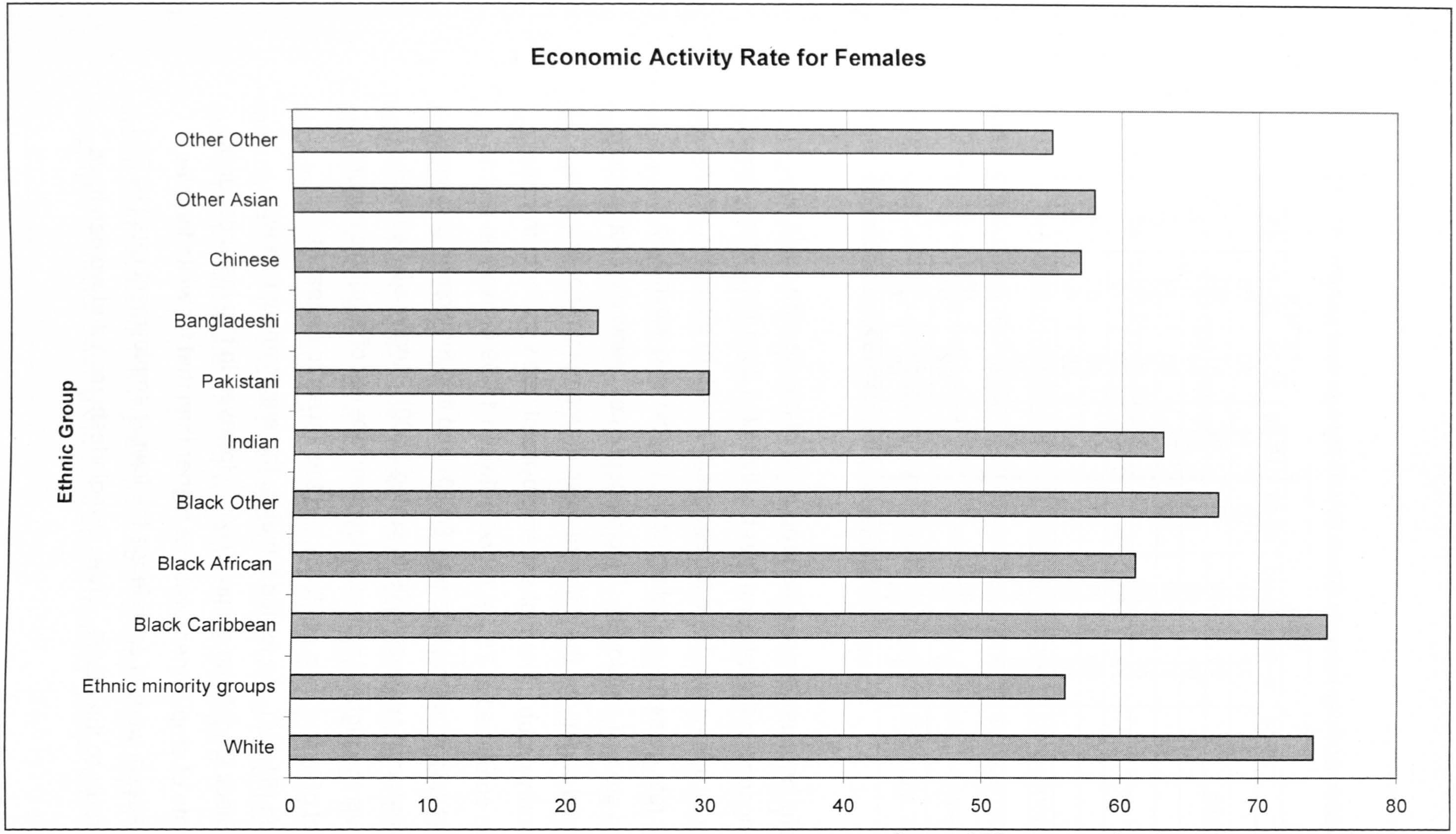
There are also differences according to gender. As described above, ethnic minority groups are less likely to be economically active than the white group. However, when figures for men and women are disaggregated by gender, the EARs for ethnic minority males were highest for the Black Other and Indian groups, with rates of more than 80%, only slightly below that of the male white EAR (85%). In contrast, only 65% of Bangladeshi men were economically active, and the figure for the Chinese male EAR was not far different (see Figure 2.1). With regard to the females, the Black Caribbean group had the highest EAR, although only one percentage point higher than that of white females, percentages of 75 and 74 respectively. Similar to Bangladeshi males, Bangladeshi females had the lowest EAR, though the female rates were much lower at a mere 22% (see Figure 2.2).

There are also considerable variations across different age ranges, as shown in Table 2.3. Generally, the EARs for both males and females of all ethnic groups tend to increase from the 16- to 24-year-old age group to the 25- to 44-year-old age group and then decrease again when reaching the 45-59/64 age band, displaying a bell-shaped profile. The reasons for low EARs for those over 45 could be explained by early retirement, disability, loss of industrial jobs and age discrimination, among other factors (Modood et al., 1997). However, the pattern of economic activity is radically different for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women than for women from other ethnic groups; those aged 16-19 are most likely to be economically active, but the rates decline with increasing age, therefore the percentage of economically active women in their thirties is particularly low (Owen et al., 2000).



Source: LFS, average of spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000

Figure 2.1



Source: LFS, average of spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000

Figure 2.2

Table 2.3: Economic activity rates in Great Britain by age and gender, 1999 (%)

	Male				Female			
	16-64	16-24	25-44	45-64	16-59	16-24	25-44	45-59
White	85	78	94	78	74	70	78	71
Ethnic minority groups	77	59	88	70	56	47	60	55
Black	78	69	86	69	68	54	72	72
Black Caribbean	80	77	89	65	75	63	78	72
Black African	76	50	84	77	61	40	65	71
Black Other	81	78	83	-	67	59	72	-
South Asian	77	59	91	67	47	45	51	41
Indian	82	62	95	74	63	56	69	56
Pakistani	74	56	89	62	30	35	31	21
Bangladeshi	65	55	81	40	22	36	-	-
Chinese and Other	74	47	85	78	57	46	58	64
Chinese	63	-	83	73	57	-	63	64
Other – Asian	77	46	85	82	58	52	58	64
Other – Other	76	58	86	77	55	49	55	66
All	**85**[2]	**76**	**93**	**77**	**73**	**68**	**76**	**70**

Source: LFS, average of spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000

The EAR is useful because it gives the proportion of people who could all potentially be engaged in the labour market, although it does not include those who are inactive or unemployed due to reasons of health or disability, whereas the employment rate gives the actual figure for people who are in paid employment and are self-employed. Employment rates follow a similar pattern to the EAR, altered slightly by the different rates of unemployment faced by each ethnic minority group. The highest employment rate was for both white men and women combined at 75.7% (aged between 16-59 for women and 16-64 for men). The rate for men alone was 80.3% and that for women only was 70.7% (LFS, average of summer 1999 to spring 2000). Analysis by ethnicity and gender shows the highest male employment rate out of all ethnic minority groups to be that of Indian men at 75.9% and the lowest to be that of Bangladeshi men (51.8%). As for the females, the employment rate was highest for the Black Caribbean group (66%). However, in this instance, unlike the EAR, their rate of employment was not higher than that for white females (70.7%). Bangladeshi women experience the lowest employment rate (14.5%), which is comparable to their EAR. Thus, Bangladeshi men and women have

[2] These figures are rounded up to the nearest whole number; the EAR for the white group is 85.3 and that for all ethnic groups is 84.8.

the lowest employment rate and the lowest economic activity rate of all ethnic minority groups.

2.1.3 Types of Employment

2.1.3.1 Industrial Breakdown

There is a tendency for some ethnic minority groups to be concentrated in specific industries and under-represented in others. In comparison to white employees and the self-employed, ethnic minority groups are under-represented in both the primary and secondary sectors.[3] However, they are over-represented in the tertiary or service sectors.

The differences in the proportion of employment in each industry are slightly extenuated when considering the make-up of male employment. Compared to ethnic minority males, more of the male white group are employed or self-employed in agriculture and fishing, energy and water and construction (by 11 percentage points) (LFS, average 1998-2000), as well as in manufacturing (by five percentage points) and less in the service industries (by 16 percentage points).

Although the actual proportions are different to that of the male employment structure, the differences mentioned above are non-existent between white and ethnic minority women. Overall there is a very high proportion of women in the service sector (87%) compared to men (61%); however, the inverse is true for manufacturing (11% and 24% respectively for all women and men) and similarly for the primary industries (3% for women and 15% for men).

Indian men represent the highest proportion of employees and the self-employed in manufacturing out of all ethnic minority groups and this is the same

[3] In this analysis the following have been amalgamated: agriculture and fishing; energy and water; and construction – as otherwise sample sizes for each group would be too small to comment on.

proportion as that of white males, both making up a quarter of their total employment in this industry. High proportions of Indian women are also represented in manufacturing (nearly one-fifth of their total employment), where they are concentrated in clothing and fur manufacture (Twomey, 2001).

Although the service sector employs at minimum two-thirds of all those who are employees or self-employed, nine-out-of ten Chinese and Bangladeshi men are concentrated in this sector, compared to only six-in-ten white males. In fact, if closer analysis at industry level is undertaken (see, for example, Twomey, 2001), 52% of male Bangladeshi employees and those who were self-employed worked in the restaurant industry, as did 44% of Chinese males, compared to only 1% of white men.

As already mentioned, women are more likely to be represented in the service sector but with less variance than male employment. A higher proportion of Chinese (93%) and women in all 'black' groups (this includes Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other and Black Mixed) (92%) are employed in the sector compared to white women (87%). Almost one-third of black women worked in the health or social work industries compared to one-fifth of all women (Twomey, 2001).

2.1.3.2 Occupational Breakdown

The industrial distribution of employment powerfully influences the occupational distribution of work. Once again, there is a marked gender specialisation of work imposed on the contrasting specialisation in employment by ethnic group (Owen et al., 2000:78). One-fifth of all men are employed or self-employed as managers and administrators and the same proportion in craft and related occupations. Women, however, are concentrated in clerical and secretarial occupations (25%) and personal protective occupations (16%).

Indian (22%) men outnumber the proportion of white men (20%) in these roles. This partly reflects the higher percentage of self-employed businessmen among South and South East Asian ethnic groups (Owen et al., 2000:78). The overall average for ethnic minority males is depressed by the low numbers of Black Caribbean and Black African men (10% and 13% respectively) in such roles.

Concentrations of particular groups are apparent in some occupations. A very high percentage of Bangladeshi men (42%) are employed in the personal and protective occupations, which is more than four times the proportion of all ethnic minority men and eight times that of white men engaged in this occupational category. Similarly, 28% of Pakistani males are employed as plant and machine operators, which is twice the proportion of white men (as well as ethnic minority men as a whole). Twomey's (2001) analysis of the LFS found one-in-eight Pakistani males to be cab drivers or chauffeurs, compared to a national average of one-in-100. On the positive side, however, 5% of Indian men were medical practitioners, which is almost ten times the national average.

The occupational distribution of ethnic minority women approximately mirrors that of white women, just as it did for industrial distribution. Around a quarter of all women from different ethnic minority groups are engaged in clerical and secretarial duties with the exception of Black African women (16%) and Chinese women (14%). However, for Black Other women, this occupational group accounted for a third of all their employment.

A very high proportion of Chinese women (17%) are managers and administrators, which is almost as high as the percentage for that of all men. Chinese women are also well represented in the professional occupations (15%) in comparison to white women (10%). Finally, Black Caribbean and Black African women are more likely than other groups to work in jobs in

personal, protective and associate professional and technical occupations, whereas Indian women are less likely.

There is a lack of data on ethnic minorities employed in the private sector. The data that was available showed that ethnic minorities employed in the private sector did not reflect the ethnic minority working-population (6.7% in 2001). Research looking specifically at the number of ethnic minorities in professional and managerial positions in the FTSE 100 companies found that out of the companies surveyed, only 40% responded and out of those, only 27 of the companies could provide a breakdown of the ethnicity of their employees. Of those that provided data, only 5.4% of the employees were ethnic minorities. A further breakdown showed that of the total junior and middle managers only 3.2% were ethnic minorities, whilst of the total of senior managers only a mere 1% were ethnic minorities. Furthermore, of the 129 executive directors only three were ethnic minorities. Of the junior and middle managers, the Indian and the Chinese groups were the only ethnic minority groups which were broadly in line with their representation in the wider employee population; and as for the senior managers, Indians were the highest represented group out of the ethnic minority groups (Sanglin-Grant and Schneider, 2000).

2.1.4 Unemployment

The white working population has the highest employment and lowest unemployment rates; conversely, ethnic minority people have the lower employment and higher unemployment rates. Table 2.4 shows that the unemployment rate for the white group was 5.4% in 1999/2000 (for all, that is, male and female combined), this figure increases by 7.3 percentage points when considering the International Labour Organization's (ILO) unemployment measure[4] for all ethnic minority groups. Therefore, the ethnic minority

[4] ILO unemployment measure: this is an ILO recommended measure, used in household surveys such as the LFS, which counts as unemployed those aged 16 and over who are without a job, are available to work in the next two weeks, who have been seeking a job in the last four weeks or are waiting to start a job already obtained.

unemployment rate is more than twice that of the white population. Disaggregating by ethnicity shows that for some groups the level of unemployment is about four times that of the white group. The highest unemployment level is experienced by the Bangladeshi group (24.6%), followed by the Black Other group (23.3%). It must be acknowledged that the Bangladeshi group also has the lowest EAR, though also low employment rates. Out of all of the ethnic minority groups, the unemployment rate is the lowest for the Indian group at only 7.3%.

Table 2.4: Unemployment by ethnicity and gender

Ethnic group	Unemployment Rate (All) (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
All	5.8	6.3	5.1
White	5.4	5.9	4.7
All ethnic minority groups	12.7	13.0	12.3
Black Caribbean	14.0	16.2	11.9
Black African	15.3	14.2	16.5
Black Other	23.3	26.6	*
Black Mixed	14.3	*	*
Indian	7.3	7.2	7.5
Pakistani	16	14.6	19.9
Bangladeshi	24.6	20.4	*
Chinese	*	*	*
Other/mixed origins	12.2	13.1	11.0

*Sample size too small for reliable estimates
Great Britain, all aged 16 and over, average summer 1999 to spring 2000
(not seasonally adjusted)

Source: Twomey (2001)

Again there are variations by gender (see Table 2.4). For example, whilst white male unemployment is 5.9%, for Black Other males it is over four times that. On the other hand, Indian males as well as Indian females faced lower rates of unemployment among the ethnic minority groups, at 7.2% and 7.5% respectively. Pakistani women fared the worst rate of unemployment among ethnic minority women, at a rate of 19.9% compared to the white women's rate of only 4.7%. (The sample size for Bangladeshi women was too small for reliable estimates, but it is expected that their rate of unemployment would also be high.)

There are also variations by age, gender and ethnicity. Table 2.5 below shows that although youth unemployment (for those aged 16-24) is high for all groups, it is much higher for ethnic minorities. Unemployment for ethnic minority males aged 16-24 is about one-and-a-half times that of whites of the same age group and for the females it is two-and-a-half times higher than white females of the same age group.

Table 2.5: Unemployment rates by age group, gender and ethnicity (GB) (1999)

	Male				Female			
	16-64	16-24	25-44	45-64	16-59	16-24	25-44	45-59
White (%)	6	14	5	5	5	10	4	3
Ethnic minorities (%)	13	22	11	12	13	25	10	8

Source: LFS, average of spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000

As well as ethnic minority unemployment rates being higher than that of white unemployment rates, it is also suggested that ethnic minority unemployment is "hyper-cyclical" (Jones, T., 1993:112). In short, this means that in a recession ethnic minority unemployment increases much faster than that of the white group, and conversely in a boom, ethnic minority unemployment falls at a higher rate than that of the white group. However, this has not been the case following the most recent recession of the early 1990s (Ogbonna and Noon, 1999; Pilkington, 2003). That said, Table 2.6 shows that the ratio of unemployment, that is the rate of ethnic minority unemployment to white unemployment, has increased since 1986, from 1.87 to 2.3 in 1999, rather than decreasing over the years.

Furthermore, not only do ethnic minority groups experience higher levels of unemployment than the white population, they experience longer periods of unemployment. Average unemployment rates were found to be nine months for white males, 18 months for Indian/African Indian males and two years for Caribbean and Pakistani/Bangladeshi males. These figures were lower for women at only six months for white women and 18 months for ethnic minority women (Modood et al., 1997).

Table 2.6: Trends in unemployment (1986-99)

Spring	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	(1999[5])
White (%)	10.7	10.4	8.4	6.8	6.5	7.9	9.2	9.7	9.0	8.1	7.7	
Ethnic minority (%)	20	17	14	12	11	15	18	21	21	19	18	
Ratio: ethnic to white	1.87	1.63	1.67	1.76	1.69	1.90	1.96	2.17	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3

Source: Ogbonna and Noon (1999)

Labour market statistics also show that despite unemployment rates being lower for ethnic minority groups with qualifications, they are still higher than the white group with the comparative level of qualifications. Labour Force Survey statistics for the average of 1998-2000 (Labour Market Trends, 2001) show that ethnic minority men with 'higher qualifications'[6] experienced twice the unemployment rates of white men (ILO rates of 6% and 3% respectively); those with 'other qualifications' experienced more than twice the unemployment rates of white men (15% and 6%) and those with 'no qualifications' also experienced higher rates of unemployment (21% and 14%) respectively. The trend is similar for women; those ethnic minorities with 'higher qualifications' experienced unemployment more than three times that of white women (7% and 2% respectively); those with 'other qualifications' experienced just under three times the rate of unemployment compared to white women (14% and 5% respectively); and those with 'no qualifications' also experienced higher unemployment, though with less variance than those with qualifications (16% unemployment for ethnic minorities compared to 8% for white women).

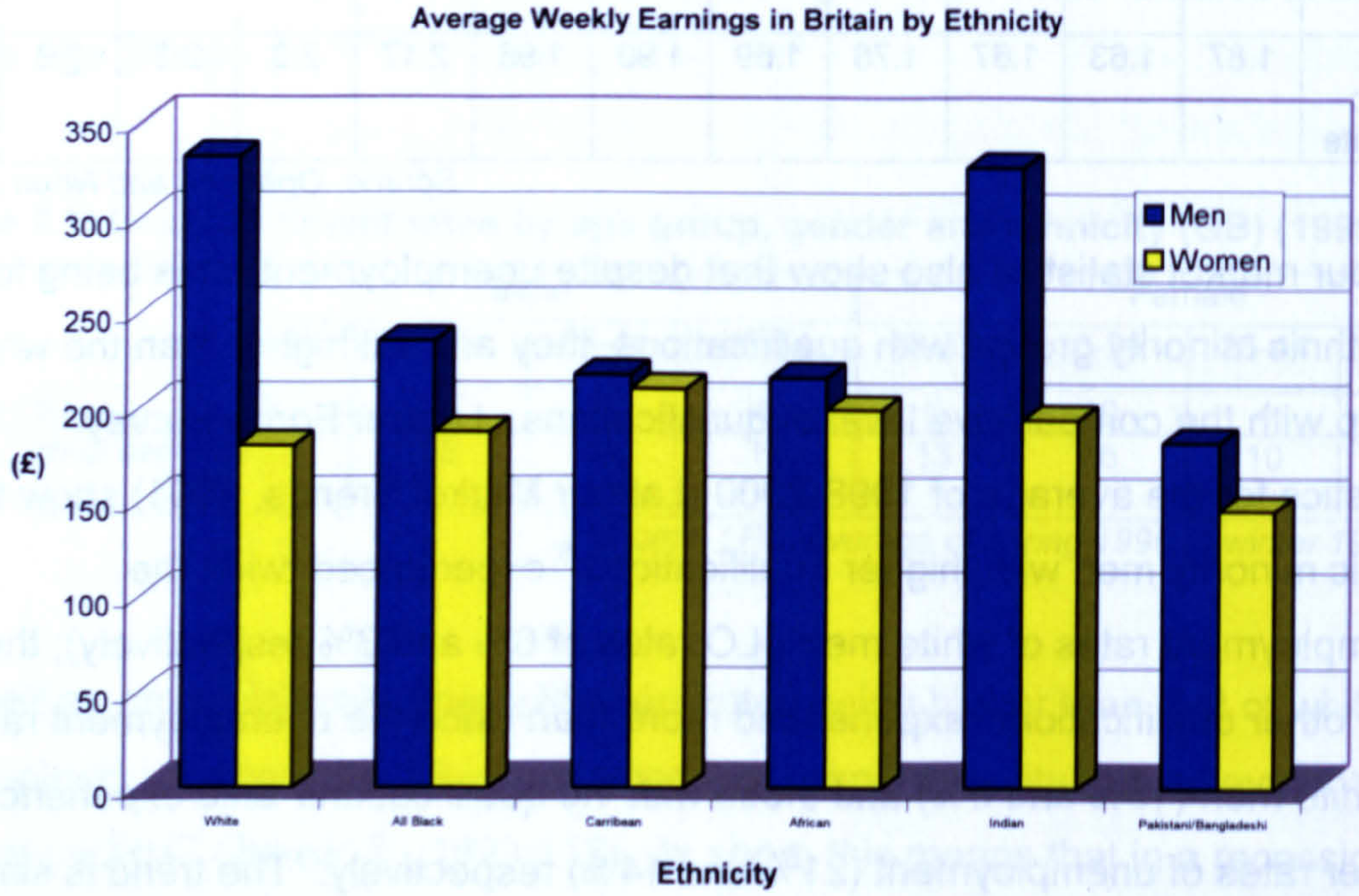
2.1.5 Earnings

Ethnic minority workers also receive lower pay than white workers (TUC, 2002). Figure 2.3 shows the difference in the average weekly earnings between males and females across different ethnic groups. There is an overall difference of

[5] Author's calculation

[6] Higher qualifications are those above GCE 'A'-level or equivalent, 'other' qualifications are those of GCE 'A'-level or equivalent or lower.

£97 between all ethnic minority males and white males. Of the ethnic minority groups only Indian men earn as much as white men, in fact £5 per week more. The largest gap is between Pakistani and Bangladeshi and white males (£150).



source: TUC (2002)

Figure 2.3

Such differences are not present for female average earnings. In fact, in aggregate ethnic minority females earn £7 more a week than white females. The Trade Union Congress (TUC) figures suggest that all ethnic minority women, except Pakistani and Bangladeshi females, fare better than white females. Although the figures for ethnic minority female earnings may give reason for optimism, they may be misleading as a greater proportion of ethnic minority females work full time compared to white females (TUC, 2002).

2.1.6 Summary of Employment Disadvantage Experienced by Ethnic Minority Groups

Before the position of ethnic minorities in the UK labour market is summarised using the evidence presented above, it is important to review their position within an historical context. The PSI surveys and those of its predecessors provide such evidence from the 1960s to the 1990s. The first survey of 1966 (Daniel, 1968) showed that 'migrants' were concentrated in manual jobs, in jobs below which they were qualified, and confined to limited industries. Discrimination was also prevalent and focused primarily on colour, with darker groups suffering the worst as employers explicitly refused to employ 'coloureds'. Thus, in general Caribbeans and Asians were only employed where there was a short supply of white workers. The second survey, conducted in 1974 (Smith, 1977) showed that there were very few ethnic minorities in professional and managerial jobs. Although many had penetrated into better, skilled manual jobs, ethnic minorities were disproportionately concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. This survey also found that, despite race relations legislation, similar levels of discrimination continued. The third survey carried out in 1982 (Brown, 1984) showed that Indian and African Asian men had the same level of unemployment as white men; however, other ethnic minority groups experienced twice the level of unemployment as the white group. Although there was some evidence for optimism for African Asians and young people, ethnic minorities were still found to be concentrated in a limited number of industries and occupations. Whilst there were some improvements in wages, ethnic minorities were found to be more likely to work shifts, less likely to supervise and still earned less (except Caribbean women) than the white population.

The Fourth National Survey, conducted in 1994 (Modood et al., 1997), the results of which are used in this chapter, shows the diversity among the different ethnic minority groups. In trying to make an overall assessment of ethnic minority disadvantage in the labour market, the matrices below (Table 2.7 and Table 2.8) bring together a number of labour market indicators. In order to

determine the relative position of the various ethnic minority groups it is assumed that the white group holds a position of advantage, hence comparisons can be made against this group; therefore the benchmark is the position of the white group, which is represented as one. An ethnic minority score under one indicates an under-representation relative to the white group and a score over one indicates an over-representation relative to the white group.

Table 2.7: Employment disadvantage of ethnic minority men, 1994

	Chinese	African Asian	Indian	Caribbean	Pakistani	Bangladeshi
Employers and managers in large establishment	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.01
Professionals, managers and employers	1.5	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.6
Supervisors	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4
Earnings	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6
Unemployment rates	0.6	0.9	1.3	2.1	2.5	2.8
Long-term unemployment*	-	(1.6)	3.1	5.9	7.7	7.7

*Long-term unemployment: unemployed for more than two years as a proportion of economically active people in the ethnic group relative to white men.

Modood et al. (1997:142)

As can be seen from the table above (Table 2.7) the extent of disadvantage varies. Chinese and African Asian men tend to fare well on all of the factors except being employers or managers in large establishments, as well as being supervisors, though to a lesser degree. At the other extreme, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men tend to fare poorly on all of the factors. Of the Indian and Caribbean men, the former tend to fare a little better than the latter, with Caribbean men experiencing particularly high rates of unemployment and long-term unemployment.

Similarly, it is apparent from Table 2.8 that Chinese and African Asian women fare better than all of the ethnic minority groups, and Pakistani/Bangladeshi

women the worst. However, and interestingly, Caribbean females fare better than their male counterparts on almost all factors.

Table 2.8: Employment disadvantage of ethnic minority women, 1994

	Chinese	African Asian	Indian	Caribbean	Pakistani	Bangladeshi
In paid work*	1.1	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.3	0.1
Professionals, managers and employers	1.9	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.8	-
Higher and intermediate non-manual	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.1	-
Supervisors	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.6	-
Earnings	-	1.1	1.0	1.0	-	-
Unemployed	0.7	2.0	1.3	1.3	4.3	4.4

*Proportion in paid work based on all women aged 16-60 not in retirement.

Modood et al. (1997:143))

In summary, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis experience a position of serious disadvantage (see matrix of disadvantage presented below), Caribbeans and Indians often experience disadvantage, but to a lesser extent than the two aforementioned groups and the Chinese and African Asians have reached broad parity with the white population. That said, whilst there may be some room for optimism, at least for African Asians and Chinese groups, the Fourth National Survey found one thing common to all minorities, that was the under-representation of ethnic minority men as managers and employers in large establishments, indicating the presence of a 'glass ceiling' effect.

MATRIX OF DISADVANTAGE

Level of Disadvantage	*Ethnic Group*
Broad parity with white group	African Indian and Chinese
Relative disadvantage	Indian and Caribbean
Severe disadvantage	Pakistani and Bangladeshi

Adapted from Modood et al. (1997)

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

2.2 FACTORS EXPLAINING LABOUR MARKET DISADVANTAGE AMONG ETHNIC MINORITIES

The previous section examined the position of the labour market. It showed diversity among the different ethnic minority groups, with some groups experiencing more disadvantage than others. This section will review the explanations that are put forward for ethnic disadvantage in employment. In particular, Berthoud's (2000) factors are looked at in detail and how they impact on ethnic minority employment. Further possible factors that affect labour demand and supply are also considered.

Traditionally, two general explanations for the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups in the labour market were put forward, namely migration and discrimination. However, they did not provide an adequate explanation for the differences between the ethnic minority groups (Berthoud, 1999). Since then, further factors have been put forward to explain such disadvantage. It is nonetheless important to stipulate that no one single factor can provide an explanation for the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups. Berthoud (2000) uses a framework that includes six possible explanations in order to analyse the position of young Caribbean men in the labour market in comparison to other groups. These explanations or factors will be used in this chapter in an attempt to explain the labour market disadvantages experienced by ethnic minority groups. The six factors are: migration; expectations and stereotypes; discrimination; family structures; alienation; and the structure of the economy. Berthoud does stress that some of the issues may be more relevant than others when considering different ethnic minority groups in light of the diversity among them. He also points out that some factors will be more relevant to the individual and therefore affecting their labour market supply, whereas others may influence labour demand. This is an important point when policy solutions are to be considered. Each factor will now be taken in turn to explain how its potential interaction can impact upon ethnic minority groups in employment along with any available empirical evidence.

2.2.1 Migration

People who have recently arrived in the UK may be at a disadvantage in the labour market particularly if they are competing for jobs against those who have been in the country for a long time. This can be due to a number of reasons such as: their educational qualifications may be lower or unrecognised; they are less likely to have networks and contacts; and by implication they may lack sources of references in the UK in order to help them gain employment. They may also be unfamiliar with the procedures for applying for jobs and interview techniques (Daniel, 1968). The level of language skills in the new country is also an important factor, and if this is limited, it may constrain the individual's potential in applying for a wider range of job opportunities. Whilst most young ethnic minorities are fluent in English, language problems are prevalent for certain Asians in the older age groups, most of whom were born abroad (Modood et al., 1997). In particular, it has been found that over three-quarters of Bangladeshi women over the age of 25 do not speak fluent English and over 40% of Bangladeshi and Pakistani first-generation men are non-English speaking, impacting on their labour market engagement in that for women it relates to their economic inactivity, whereas for men it correlates to high unemployment (Leslie and Lindley, 2001). In the UK labour market, despite ability, lack of English fluency has also been found to have a negative effect on earnings (Battu and Sloane, 2002; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). It would be expected therefore that the above issues would be less relevant the longer the individual had been in the host country and be eliminated for second and third generations (Hatton and Wheatley-Price, 1998). However, Heath et al. (2000) found ethnic penalties to be of similar magnitude among the second generation to that of the first. Platt (2005) on the other hand finds that there is no ethnic penalty in access to professional and managerial destinations for Caribbean, Black African, Indian or Chinese children of working class parents except for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. Her findings are, however, critiqued by Heath and Cheung (2006). They suspect Platt's methodology of combining men and women and constructing a combined measure for family class augments

the position of Caribbean and Black African men and therefore not giving an accurate picture.

2.2.2 Expectations and Stereotypes

Expectations and stereotypes have been found to affect labour market success. Teachers' expectations are important and can impact on the academic success of pupils. In particular, Caribbean boys are expected to under-achieve at school, both by themselves and their teachers, reducing their chance of success (Gillborn, 1990; Sewell, 1997). This has a knock-on effect for those entering the labour market in terms of their prospects and the lower expectations of employers. In turn, this relative failure of young Caribbean men in the labour market may also contribute to lowering teachers' expectations in schools once again, resulting in a viscous circle. A piece of research on middle managers' perceptions of ethnic minority workers in the early 1980s found there to be negative stereotypes of Black Caribbean workers, such that they were "lazy, happy-go-lucky or slow" (Jenkins, 1986:83). Some of the views towards these workers were:

> The West Indians are by and large unpopular, but for different reasons. They're poor timekeepers, too casual in their attitude to work, they have a high turnover on the job. (Personnel Manager, manufacturing)
>
> West Indians tend to be very lazy, they're a load of trouble... (General Dispatch Manager, manufacturing)
>
> Jenkins (1986:86)

However, not all the research findings of this particular research project were negative; the same research found there to be positive stereotypes of Asian workers, such as: "Asians are hard workers" (Jenkins, 1986:83).

There is also evidence to suggest that teachers and tutors fear black boys. An article in *The Guardian* (9th March, 2004) described a case study of an experience of a white middle-class woman who was assigned to provide learning support to a 17-year-old black South African boy in a further education college. She described accounts of witnessing fear and aggression towards him

and him being accused of using threatening behaviour towards other students. Stereotypes can also lead to channelling of ethnic minority groups, for example, by those who help in making career choices (Cross et al., 1990).

It may not only be the expectations of employers that impact the labour market demand of ethnic minorities; their supply of labour may be affected by expectations from their own household. For some women their employment choices have been found to be influenced by a number of factors, including cultural expectations, family and community pressures; this was found to be the case for Pakistani and Bangladeshi females in Oldham (Dale et al., nd).

2.2.3 Discrimination

Wrench and Modood (2000) list a number of kinds of research evidence suggesting the operation of discrimination in the UK labour market; these are: statistical evidence in the form of Census and large-scale surveys such as the LFS; discrimination testing, that is, special experiments using actors or fictitious applications; interviews with gatekeepers, for example the staff of employment agencies; interviews and surveys studying the experience of ethnic minorities in the labour market or the workplace; the actions of aggrieved employers; investigations conducted by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE); and incidents that come to light at employment tribunals.

Surveys have been used earlier in this chapter to show the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities. Similar inequalities were found in previous LFSs and the analyses of them (Jones, T., 1993; Sly, 1995; Sly et al., 1999) as well as the 1991 Census (Owen 1992-1995; Karn, 1997) and PSI surveys (Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1977; Brown, 1984; Modood et al., 1997). Disparities between ethnic minority and white participants have also been found in successive government-supported training (this will be discussed in depth in Chapter Three). It would not, however, be correct to say that the differences between ethnic minorities and white people are all due to discrimination. As shown in this chapter the differences may be due to a number of variables; if these factors are controlled, then the prevalence of discrimination could be

established. An example of a study which did this found racial discrimination to be operating in the labour market (Drew et al., 1993); the Youth Cohort Studies data for those leaving school in 1985 and 1986 was used to track their subsequent progress. It found that after controlling for factors such as attainment and local labour market conditions, ethnic minorities were found to be still more likely to experience higher rates of unemployment coupled with longer spells of unemployment.

Although statistical sources are useful, they are not sound proof that discrimination lies between the observed disparities. Other such methods, though relying on smaller sample sizes have been used, such as discrimination testing. This method uses two or more testers, one belonging to the majority group and the others to ethnic minority groups. The testers are matched with the same credentials and apply for the same job. If over a period of repeated testing the majority group candidate is systematically selected over the ethnic minority candidate, then this points to the operation of discrimination. A study of this type was commissioned by the CRE in Nottingham, which found discrimination against 'Black' and Asians occurred in nearly half of the jobs tested; although 'Black' and Asian males experienced higher rates of racial discrimination (Hubbuck and Carter, 1980). Fourteen years later the CRE commissioned a repeat study in Nottingham to see if there were any improvements; unfortunately, this study found job prospects were bleak for all applicants due to a decade of mass unemployment, nonetheless it was found that ethnic minorities were more unlikely than white people to get jobs offered to them, even when other factors such as class, education and location were controlled (Simpson and Stevenson, 1994).

Discrimination testing has also been carried out focusing on certain professions. For example, a study based on the medical profession found discriminatory practices at the point of sifting applications, using the candidate's name to determine whether or not they were to be short-listed. The research found that National Health Service hospitals were twice as likely to shortlist candidates with Anglo-Saxon names over those with Asian names (Esmail and Everington,

1993). A similar study was conducted in 1992 whose aim was to assess whether there was any evidence of racial discrimination among 100 of the UK's largest companies. The method employed in the study was that two fictitious speculative application letters were sent to these companies. These were substantively the same, however, one was sent from an Asian applicant, Sanjay Patel and the other from a white applicant called John Evans; each applicant was a final MBA student seeking information on employment opportunities within management. The findings suggested that discrimination was evident among the top 100 UK firms; the research found that both applicants were equally likely to receive a reply, but better-quality replies (helpful and encouraging) were sent to the white applicant. A gap was found between policy and practice; it was discovered that companies with equal opportunity statements were more likely to treat the applicants the same, however, where discrimination occurred, it was in favour of the white candidate (Noon, 1993). The same study was conducted six years later in 1998 (Hoque and Noon, 1999) and found there to be no evidence of unequal treatment, and the disappearance was explained by different companies moving into the top 100, rather than the 100 companies in the 1992 study improving their practices. The 1998 study found that having an equal opportunity statement made no difference to the treatment of the applicants. In fact they found that companies with ethnic minority statements were more likely to discriminate against the ethnic minority applicant. The authors also point out that their results do not suggest that discrimination against ethnic minorities is no longer an issue as this research merely looks at a snapshot of one recruitment practice; they also note the use of a Hindu name in their research, who fare better in the labour market than other people belonging to, for example, Sikh or Muslim religions (evidence of this is shown in Section 2.2.8).

In 1996 the CRE conducted a short exercise in the north of England and Scotland to see how young people from ethnic minorities fared in job search. It focused on the early stages of the recruitment process. It looked at four different methods: newspapers and journals; job centres; speculative letters; and in person. The vacancies tested were for clerical, administration and sales

staff. Two applications were sent, one from white applicants and the other from ethnic minority applicants. As in the studies mentioned above, all the details of the applicants were matched except for ethnicity. The study found statistically significant results for newspapers and journals whereby overall white applicants were three times more likely to be offered a job interview than the ethnic minority applicants, both of which had the same qualifications. The success rates for the newspaper and journal job advertisements tests also showed a marked difference among the different ethnic groups, the success rates for each group were: white 60%; Irish 47%; Chinese 39%; Asian 22% and Black 13% (CRE, 1996).

It is not only employers that have been found to be operating discriminatory practices. Other actors in the labour market have been found to be guilty of discriminatory practises, such as those providing access to training opportunities or acting as 'gatekeepers' (Lee and Wrench, 1983) and those providing careers advice (Cross et al., 1990). The barriers to training opportunities will be looked at in more depth in Chapter Three.

Another form of evidence is from ethnic minorities themselves. The Fourth National Survey provides evidence that 78% of economically active ethnic minorities thought that employers refuse people jobs for racial or religious reasons; although there was a slight difference in the opinions of the different ethnic groups with the highest of all groups being Caribbeans, of which 95% believed that such discrimination existed. Surprisingly, apart from the Caribbean group, more white people than other groups thought that employers would refuse someone a job for reasons of 'race' or religion (90% of the economically active). However, ethnic minorities were more likely to believe that discrimination was widespread with 18% believing that 'most' employers discriminate, compared to only 5% of white people. Of the Bangladeshis, as shown in Chapter Two to be one of the most disadvantaged groups, only 51% thought that employers would discriminate and almost one-third responded by "can't say"; it should be noted, however, that as this analysis is based on the economically active this response may reflect the low participation rate in the

labour market (Modood et al., 1997). However, such evidence from ethnic minorities of their experiences of discrimination may be discredited by critics due to the subjective nature of this source. That said, it has been found that ethnic minorities have under-estimated the discrimination they were exposed to (Smith, 1977). Moreover, discrimination can be in the form of indirect discrimination as defined in Chapter One, which may be harder to detect and prove.

The number of court cases due to discrimination may be an indicator of the extent of the problem. The race relations legislation has made racial discrimination illegal (the Acts will be presented in full in Chapter Four). The legislation allows aggrieved employees to take discriminatory employers to court. However, employment tribunals on the basis on racial discrimination made up only 2.1% of the total claims in 2004/05, a reduction from 3% in 1999/2000; besides which only 3.5% of the claims were successful in the 2004/05 period, with most being settled by means of conciliation, or withdrawn or dismissed at the hearing. That said, there appears to be a year-on-year increase in employment tribunals based on discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, though overall they are still tiny numbers of such cases; there were no claims in 2002/03, 70 claims in 2003/04 and 307 in 2004/05 (Keter and Beale, 2005). Also it appears that now 'hidden discrimination' (TUC, 2003) is being found and institutional racism in public services is prevalent in the UK (Macpherson, 1999).

2.2.4 Family Structures

The structure of the family tends to impact upon some ethnic minority groups (Berthoud, 2000). In particular a high proportion of lone parents are Black Caribbean and therefore children being brought up without a father figure or 'breadwinner' may influence their labour market engagement. For example, unemployment for single Caribbean males is twice that of those who are married or live with a partner (Modood et al., 1997). Also interestingly in the case of Pakistani and Bangladeshi females, low activity levels are particularly

characteristic of Asian Muslims and are affected by the economic position of their husbands; the wives of unemployed men have lower activity rates than the wives of men who have jobs. One of the key explanations for this is the operation of a household means-test by the social security benefit system (Modood et al., 1997). Family structures may also be a factor for the high level of self-employment among certain ethnic minority groups (Basu, 1998) such that the extended family may provide free labour or financial assistance. Childcare and family responsibilities may also affect the supply of labour as ethnic minorities have disproportionately poor access to childcare (Daycare Trust, 2000).

2.2.5 Alienation

Those who have experienced exclusion from either employment or other institutions may develop a sense of alienation. This could be either perceived or real and the experiences of family and friends are also important here and may have an impact. Young Caribbean men may develop a sense of alienation as a consequence of their exclusion from employment (Wrench et al., 1997). As mentioned earlier, Caribbean boys may develop a sense of resentment as a result of the stereotypes held about them by teachers, which is in turn perceived by the teachers as a potential threat, reinforcing the image (Gillborn, 1990; Sewell, 1997). As a result of being denied opportunities in the labour market some may decide to adopt an alternative lifestyle. Many of these issues carry parallels with unemployment and disaffection among young white men with poor academic achievements, therefore class is a prominent factor. However, it is suggested that the disadvantages of young Caribbean men:

> ... may be seen as a general problem of exclusion and alienation during a period of widening, economic inequality. On the other hand, important elements of the problems facing young Caribbean men are specifically racial and their response may also be based, in part, on a sense of ethnic identity and rejection.
>
> Berthoud (1999:4)

Such experiences may lead to discouragement (Boddy, 1992).

2.2.6 Structure of the Economy

There is a lower demand for manual labour for those with limited qualifications and skills due to de-industrialisation and the shift from a manufacturing base since the main migrations occurred (DfEE, 2001). Also ethnic minority groups tend to be highly concentrated in the inner city (Jones, T., 1993; Modood et al., 1997) where job opportunities are fewer. That said, overall ethnic minority groups are relatively less concentrated in declining industries than their white counterparts. However, some ethnic minority groups may be affected more than others, as shown earlier in this chapter, Indian men and women in particular are well represented in manufacturing, which as a sector suffered a 31,000 loss in employment between 1995 and 2000 (Cabinet Office, 2000). Also, the effects of industrial restructuring have had specific effects on certain industries in certain geographical locations, for example the decline of the textile industry in the UK has specifically had a negative effect on Pakistanis in the north of England (Karn, 1997). Furthermore, there is also a spatial mismatch in that ethnic minorities are not concentrated in areas where jobs are growing (Turok and Edge, 1999).

As previously mentioned, ethnic minority groups tend to be affected by the business cycle more than their white counterparts (Jones, T., 1993)[7]. This may be due to the occupations and industries they are employed in being more sensitive to upturns and downturns in the economy. Berthoud's analysis of LFS data (1999) found that unemployment among Caribbeans and Africans was largely attributable to their sensitivity to variations in the economic environment.

[7] However, this has not been so since 1993, the recovery period post the last recession (Ogbonna and Noon, 1999).

2.2.7 Other Factors Affecting the Demand for Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market

Above are some of the overarching factors that are put forward to explain labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities. However, there are also other factors or barriers, as they are more commonly known, that might affect the labour market demand of ethnic minorities contributing to labour market disadvantage. Labour market demand is determined by the quantity and type of employees employers require. It was shown in Section 2.1.2 that employment rates for ethnic minorities are lower than those of their white counterparts, reflecting in part the lack of labour market demand of ethnic minorities. The demand of ethnic minorities in the labour market can be affected by a number of factors. One of the dampeners of demand is due to the lack of companies providing employment opportunities in areas where ethnic minorities live. Lower levels of business activity have been found in areas where clusters of ethnic minorities live, and the companies that do exist tend to be smaller than in white-dominant areas, resulting in fewer employment opportunities (Cabinet Office, 2000). In fact the final report of the Cabinet Office (2003) highlights geography as one of the key determinants of ethnic minority employment rates. Its analysis of LFS data shows that ethnic minority employment rates are highest in Outer London and lowest in West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester.

In summary, demand-side factors affecting ethnic minorities include industrial restructuring (or de-industrialisation), geographical deprivation, discrimination, expectations and stereotypes of employers and poor levels of public infrastructure.

2.2.8 Other Factors Affecting the Supply for Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market

That is not to say that the quantity and quality that affect the availability or the labour market supply of ethnic minorities is not important. One explanation for the ethnic minority labour market disadvantage focuses on human capital. This

may certainly be true for some groups as, for example, Black Caribbean and Pakistani/Bangladeshi students show the lowest levels of achievement at GCSE. However, this does not explain the labour market disadvantage experienced by high-achieving groups as GCSE attainment is highest among Indian and Chinese students, even outperforming white students. As well as the differences among the ethnic groups, there are also gender differences such that, in particular, Black Caribbean girls achieve better GCSE results than Black Caribbean boys (Owen et al., 2000). Broadly speaking, one would assume that an investment in education will increase an individual's generic skills and lead to higher wages and better job prospects. Interestingly it has been found that over 30% of Indians, African Asians and Chinese exhibit levels of over-education for their jobs, compared to 20% of their white counterparts (Battu and Sloane, 2002). The same research found 36% of Bangladeshi workers to have fewer qualifications than was required for their job; in other words they were under-educated. Despite their over-qualification, Berthoud (2000) found that the returns to education in terms of earnings were less for ethnic minority groups than they were for the white population; whilst a degree reaped an extra £80 per week for the white population, it only increased an Indian's weekly wage by £71 per week, the highest returns for a degree of all the ethnic minority groups; the lowest returns for a degree was for the African group at a mere £27 per week, whilst Caribbean and Pakistani/Bangladeshi graduates increased their earning power by £64 and £61 per week respectively.

Staying-on rates in full-time education post-compulsory education are more common for ethnic minority groups than the white population; but there is a difference among the groups. This will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

The supply of ethnic minority labour can be affected by a lack of mobility as there are poor public services in areas where ethnic minorities live, such as transport (Social Exclusion Unit, 2000). A survey looking at the characteristics and experiences of ethnic minority unemployed claimants found that they were less likely than their white counterparts to have access to privately owned transport. Thirty-seven per cent of all ethnic minorities compared to 26% of

white claimants had no form of transport. This difference was more marked for those over the age of 45, where 45% of ethnic minority claimants had no privately owned transport compared to 23% of white claimants (Shropshire et al., 1999).

More recently religion and culture have been presented as factors (Modood et al., 1997; Weller et al., 2001; Ahmad et al., 2003). In fact Lindley's (2002) analysis of the Fourth National Survey found religion, as well as ethnicity, to be an important issue; she found that Hindu Indians appear to fare better in the labour market than Sikh Indians. Her study also found that relative to other 'non-white religions', Muslims experience some unexplainable employment penalty. Correspondingly, recent data has found Muslims to have the highest unemployment; in 2003-04 unemployment for Muslim men in Great Britain was 14%, more than three times that of Christian men (4%). Moreover, Muslim women had an unemployment rate of 15%, almost four times higher than Christian women (4%) (ONS, 2004).

The review presented here is not exhaustive, as there are certainly many other factors affecting the supply of labour such as social class (Heath and McMahon, 1997) and housing tenure. There may also be other barriers that may not be exclusively related to ethnicity, but may be highly correlated with ethnicity, such as having a criminal record and ill-health (see Cabinet Office (2000), for a more comprehensive literature review). In summary, the supply of ethnic minorities in the labour market can be determined by a number of factors. These may include human capital, religion and cultural factors, family structures, alienation, discouragement, social class among many others.

2.3 CONCLUSION

Despite ethnic minority groups having resided in Great Britain for a minimum of 40 years, and in some cases having been born and educated through the British system, they still face disadvantage in the labour market. In general, ethnic

minority groups are more likely to face higher levels of unemployment and be over-represented in low-skill occupations and industries than the white population. However, there is a huge diversity among the different ethnic minority groups, which is further complicated when gender and age are considered.

Thurrow's dimensions of disadvantage put forward in 1969 are still found prevalent in today's labour market. Although some groups have progressed, others suffer severe disadvantage. All the indicators used in this chapter to portray the labour market position of ethnic minorities have shown that Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups fare worst, and this applies to both men and women. Interestingly, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are more likely to be economically inactive if their husbands are unemployed. The Chinese and African Asian group hold a position of broad parity with the white population, whereas the Indian group, who came directly from the sub-continent, and Caribbean groups, who incidentally have been in Britain the longest, still experience some disadvantages. It may well be the case that figures in the Labour Force Survey for the Indian group have indeed been somewhat inflated by the advantageous position of the African Asians, which is recorded separately in the Fourth National Survey, hence, their overall position appearing better than it really is. The evidence presented in this chapter also shows that Caribbean women fare much better than Caribbean men. Despite, however, African Asians and Chinese people faring quite well in the labour market, they are still under-represented as managers in large establishments and as supervisors; although such under-representation is not apparent among Chinese women. Therefore all ethnic minority groups, except for Chinese women experience the 'glass ceiling' effect.

A number of factors have been put forward to explain some of these differences. These include migration, alienation, expectations and stereotyping, family structure, the structure of economy and discrimination as well as other factors affecting the demand and supply of ethnic minorities. There is also evidence that discrimination has most certainly gone beyond colour and is also prevalent

in terms of culture and religion. Additionally, whilst discrimination may be less overt there is evidence of 'hidden' discrimination and institutional racism.

The following chapter looks at policy solutions for combating such disadvantage. It looks at some of the government labour market policies that have been put in place in order to provide training, in some cases exclusively for the unemployed. In particular it looks at the programmes with respect to ethnic minority outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE

COMBATING LABOUR MARKET DISADVANTAGE: MAINSTREAM GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTED TRAINING PROGRAMMES

> Getting onto a training scheme, securing a work experience or on-the-job training placement, and then finding a job can all be that much more difficult for people from ethnic minorities.
>
> CRE (1991:3)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

A recent, detailed analysis of policy options in relation to 'racial' disadvantage, focusing on the dimensions of disadvantage reviewed in the previous chapter concluded that:

> The broad policy options really boil down to three. Option one is the laissez-faire approach and the reality is that no government has dared follow this approach to the labour market in its extreme form. The Conservatives from 1979 to 1997 did not add significantly to the anti-discrimination legislation, but they certainly never tried to dismantle the existing structures, unlike their large-scale changes to the industrial relations framework and restrictions on trade unions.
>
> Option two is to target particular individuals as being in special need of help. This roughly sums up the current approach. For example, there is recognition that long-term unemployed people form a category in need of special assistance and that market forces alone will not remove this vulnerable group from the unemployment register. Members of the ethnic communities just happen to be disproportionately represented in the long-term category and so there is no direct racial element in the intervention policy. Ethnic communities receive more help because they just happen to be more represented in these particular categories.
>
> The third option is to target particular ethnic communities and this type of policy option is often termed positive discrimination or affirmative action[8]. Britain has so far avoided this type of policy option, or at least overtly so.
>
> Leslie (1998:208)

The above essentially summarises the three policy options that are available to combat labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities. Option two, moreover, reflects current mainstream government policy in the UK, which focuses on long-term unemployment in the form of the 'New Deal' family of

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[8] Please note positive discrimination and affirmative action are referred to here by Leslie (1998), however, positive action as is allowed under the Race Relations Act (1976) in Great Britain is not mentioned; this will be discussed on the following page.

policies. There is, however, considerable evidence that those from ethnic minorities on such programmes achieve less successful outcomes than their white counterparts. Moreover, there is a history of evidence to suggest that government-supported training (GST) programmes replicate some of the disadvantages experienced by ethnic minorities in the labour market and do not meet the needs of ethnic minority groups. This chapter draws together evidence of previous GST and argues that colour-blind and culture-blind policy responses do not work, as argued by The Parekh Report (2000). It also analyses the current policy measures to see if any progress has been made. Option three suggests targeting particular ethnic minorities, however, positive discrimination or affirmative action is referred to here, the latter of which is practised in the USA and not legally allowed in Great Britain. What is not mentioned is the policy option of positive action, under the Race Relations Act (1976), which has been used in Great Britain and is legal. Chapter Four will look at the race relations legislation and at positive action as a policy measure to combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities.

As already mentioned, this chapter will focus on policy option two, which is to target particular individuals who are in need of assistance. As this option indicates, intervention can be justified when market forces alone are not sufficient to address issues of inequality. In the labour market this takes the form of government programmes in order to address issues such as unemployment or skills shortages. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to review the literature on the experience of ethnic minorities on GST programmes and assess their effectiveness in combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities. It will look to see if GST meets the needs of ethnic minorities; it will review past programmes as well as current labour market policies as lessons can be learnt for policy improvements. The aim in this chapter is not to provide a full list of the programme and their aims; it is to discuss ethnic minority issues specifically. Current policy measures in the form of the New Deal is looked at separately in the second half of the chapter as this claimed to be the first government policy to consider ethnic minorities in its design and delivery.

3.1 GST AND ETHNIC MINORITIES (pre-New Deal)

Training and employment schemes were first introduced in the 1970s (Webb, 2003) and since then and the appearance of the New Deal in 1998 almost 60 programmes have been introduced to tackle unemployment (Jeff and Spence, 2000). There have been significant changes in both youth and adult training programmes as well as the institutions charged with the responsibility of the policies (see Appendix A and Webb (2003) for more comprehensive details). Overall there has been a shift towards 'active labour market policies':

> Active labour-market policy is a term which covers a number of programmes designed to improve the efficiency with which the labour market works and to promote greater equality of opportunity in the labour market.
>
> Robinson (2000:16-17)

In reviewing the literature on GST in light of ethnic minority groups there is much evidence of inequality, disadvantage and discrimination (direct and indirect). Issues arise at all stages, that is, pre-entry, post-entry and post-training, mirroring the experiences of ethnic minorities in gaining employment. There are barriers to participation, which in turn mean that there is an under-representation of ethnic minority groups on the programmes. Where ethnic minority groups do take part in such programmes there tends to be an under-representation on certain elements of the programme and disparities of outcomes of the qualifications achieved and the job outcomes post-programmes. There is a considerable volume of local evidence (for example: East Lancashire Training and Enterprise Council (TEC); Essex Returners' Unit; Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council; Sandwell TEC; South London TEC; Walsall TEC; Western Training and Enterprise Council) and national studies (Boddy, 1995; Rolfe et al., 1996; DfEE, 1997a) which highlight the intensity of the problem.

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3.1.1 Under-representation: On Schemes and in Modes

> The biggest problem besetting TECs in achieving positive outcomes for disadvantaged groups on YT [Youth Training] was attracting young people onto the programmes in the first place.
>
> Rolfe et al. (1996:41)

Evidence of previous GST programmes shows that ethnic minorities were typically under-represented in overall numbers, as well as on the more prestigious elements of the training programme, usually the employer-related elements. National figures show that young ethnic minorities were less likely to be on government training schemes than the white population:

> The proportions of 16-year-olds in government-supported training have fallen steadily across all ethnic groups, from around 25% in 1986 to around 9% in 1994. Only 4% of 16-year-olds from ethnic minority groups were in government training schemes in 1994, compared with 13% of white 16-year-olds.
>
> CRE (1998a:6)

Moreover, in England and Wales, of all young people aged between 16 and 25 pursuing vocational qualifications through YT programmes, only 7% were from ethnic minority groups during the year ending December 1996 (CRE, 1998b). This is despite the fact that they make up 9.1% of the 16- to 24-year-old age group (LFS, spring 1999 to winter 1999/2000) and have unemployment rates ranging from 18.4% for Indians to 36.9% for Bangladeshis aged 16-24, compared to only 10.9% for whites of the same age (LFS, 2001-02). Although there is an under-representation of ethnic minorities more specifically on government programmes, more generally there has been disintegration in YT particularly between the late 1980s and early 1990s. This is due to a decline of the cohort of those of school-leaving age due to demographic changes, the increase in the retention in further education, the recession which led to a rise in unemployment and a decline in the proportion of young people on YT and in progression to employment and also only a minority of those on YT gained any qualification (Roberts, 1995).

As with YT, there has been an overall decline in the numbers of adults in general undertaking work-related training. In 1998-99, Work-Based Training for

Adults (WBTA) starts were made up of 82% white, 9% Black/African-Caribbean, 5% Asian and 3% 'Other' participants. Figures for 1995-96 show that the decline was attributed to white and 'Other' participants (by 4% and 1% respectively). However, Black/African-Caribbean and Asian participant starts had increased (but only by 3% and 1% respectively) (Owen et al., 2000). The Fourth National Survey of ethnic minorities of the Policy Studies Institute also found significant differences in the participation of ethnic minority groups on GST. It too revealed that the white and Caribbean groups were more likely to have been on a GST, than someone from a Chinese or South Asian group. Furthermore, it highlighted that participation rates did not correspond with rates of unemployment. As shown in Chapter Two, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups have higher rates of unemployment, but they were no more likely to have been on a scheme than other South Asians or white people. Age and gender were also found to be factors in participation levels, as older people and young women of all ethnic minority groups were less likely to have been on GST than the white group (Modood et al., 1997).

Programme types and elements

Not only are young people (aged between 16 and 25) from ethnic minority groups less likely to participate in government training, they are also less likely to be on programmes with employed status than white participants. Of those on GST programmes only 15% were Bangladeshi and 36% Indian compared to 41% white (CRE, 1998a). Moreover, this is not a new phenomenon: there is also evidence of this on much earlier programmes, such that early findings based on the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) showed there to be a greater proportion of white young people on Mode A, the employer-based element of the programme, than 'Black' and Asian trainees (Fenton et al., 1984). Research in Birmingham on African-Caribbean and white girls also found a disproportionate number of the former on Mode B, the non-vocational element (Austen, 1987). However, Cross et al. (1990) show the distribution of ethnic minority young people on the different YTS modes to be a complex one; they

found that Asians were as able as white participants to get on employment-related schemes, although this was not so for African-Caribbeans.

More recent data on employer-based training shows only 4% of Advanced Modern Apprenticeship (AMA) starts in 2001/02 to be people from ethnic minorities in England. As well as the under-representation of ethnic minorities on the AMA overall, figures for ethnic minority group starts varied across the sectors they were undertaking the programmes in, from 8% for childcare to 1% for construction (*Statistical First Release*, 2002b.). Once again conveying that this is not a recent trend, ethnic minorities were also found to be particularly under-represented in the construction sector in Manchester on the two-year YTS programme; between the years 1985-88, out of 1,665 trainees, only five were 'Black' (Freathy, 1991). The Foundation Modern Apprenticeship (FMA) also had 4% starts in 2001/02 from people from ethnic minorities, with similar proportions in the sectors as the aforementioned AMA (*Statistical First Release*, 2002b). Similarly, with respect to adult training, high proportions of ethnic minorities were on the lower-level pre-vocational training, now called Basic Employability (24.5%) and 16.7% on the more advanced non-Basic Employability sector (Owen et al., 2000).

It is recognised that there are other options available to young people other than GST, which may partly explain the under-representation of ethnic minorities on such programmes. In fact the low proportion of young people from ethnic minorities taking up GST did reflect the higher numbers on other options, particularly further education. A higher proportion of young people from ethnic minorities are more likely to stay on at school and very few seek other opportunities (Moving On, 1998; Owen et al., 2000). Of the Year 11 secondary school completers in autumn 1998, Indians and the Chinese were the most likely ethnic minority groups to be in full-time education (both 89.4%), followed by Black African (77.3%), with the white group the least likely of all the groups to be in full-time education (68.2%). In spite of the generalisation that ethnic minorities are more likely to continue in further education, there are some groups that are more likely than others to participate in GST. Black Caribbean

Year 11 secondary school completers in Autumn 1998 were the most likely of the ethnic minority groups to participate on GST (7.5%), though still not as high as white completers (9.3%). Conversely, reflecting the higher rates of participation in full-time education, the groups least likely to opt for this choice were the Chinese (1.0%), Indians (2.4%) and Black Africans (2.5%) (Moving On, 1998). The same research also showed that young people recorded as Pakistani, Black Caribbean and Black Other were more likely to be 'not settled in full-time activity' than any other group.

There is evidence to suggest that the non-participation of programmes, with particular reference to Modern Apprenticeships (MAs), is due to young ethnic minorities tending not to choose the MA option at age 16, rather than one of a disproportionate rejection of ethnic minority applications (Sandwell TEC, 1997). There are positive reasons why ethnic minorities choose to continue in further education, such as the higher level of academic attainment of Indian and 'Other' groups than that of the white group at GCSE (Owen et al., 2000). Also, a higher value is placed on academic education in Asian communities rather than the vocational route (Sandwell TEC, 1997) and as shown by research in East Lancashire, Asian communities tend to have high aspirations and therefore go on to acquire academic qualifications (ELTEC, 1993). Accordingly, a large-scale survey carried out assessing MAs made comparisons with apprentices and young people following other routes post-16 and found that both black and Asian students were more likely to intend on going to university than white students (Saunders et al., 1997). It has, however, been found that people from most ethnic minorities remain at a disadvantage when applying to the older universities, although this does not apply to the post-1992 institutions (Modood and Shiner, 2002).

The number of options available post-compulsory education makes the choice complex and in some cases the decision is put off for as long as possible. Research on MAs and ethnic minority participation found that there was confusion over post-16 options, coupled with a belief that the choice could be postponed until the age of 18 (Sandwell TEC, 1997).

Issues around the supply of young ethnic minorities have been questioned in the research. Firstly, the number of applicants; a number of employers claimed that they rarely received application forms from ethnic minorities. However, a study found that African-Caribbean and Asian boys were very keen to get apprenticeships. Secondly, the quality of applicants, in that ethnic minority applicants were of poor quality and not having adequate qualifications, however, this was not supported by this study (Lee and Wrench, 1983). This research suggests that despite the availability of other options, there are barriers to entry into GST. Evidence of this will now be looked at in the next section in order to determine whether choosing GST is being constrained by barriers to entry.

3.1.2 Barriers Faced by Ethnic Minorities on GST Programmes

> ... just as there are barriers to employment, there are also barriers to the government schemes designed to improve employment prospects.
>
> Ogbonna and Noon (1995:537)

This section will now go on to discuss some possible explanations for the under-representation of ethnic minorities on GST. A key question here is to determine whether ethnic minority groups are making a positive decision of not opting for GST or whether the under-representation is due to issues around access and barriers to entry. A number of studies have been commissioned in order to identify the barriers faced by ethnic minorities in relation to GST (Rolfe et al., 1996; CAG Consultants, 1997a, 1997b; DfEE, 1997a; Sandwell TEC, 1997). Although in some cases the issues are generic, some of the barriers apply specifically to either adult or youth programmes. Furthermore, the barriers can be programme specific or location specific. There is much less research on adult training supported by government funding and their impact on ethnic minorities (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995, 1998), however, the little evidence that there is portrays disparity of outcomes or disadvantage.

Structural barriers are looked at first, followed by the economic and social factors that may hinder the participation of ethnic minority groups on GST. It

must be stressed that, although the factors are mentioned separately, they may be inter-related, that is, more than one factor may be at play at any one time and these can be either structural and/or socio-economic factors.

3.1.2.1 Structural Barriers

Structural barriers are factors which stand in the way of equal opportunities for ethnic minorities and therefore contribute to their economic, social and cultural marginalisation. These barriers serve as plausible explanations for the disadvantages they experience. Structural barriers may reflect policy formation, provision and practices. The array of barriers will now be discussed.

Knowledge

In order for people to apply for GST programmes they must have knowledge of their existence. It may well be questionable as to the extent that individuals and those who aid the decision-making process have full knowledge of all the options that are available. It is argued by an ethnic minority voluntary sector organisation which lobbies government on issues such as the employment and education of ethnic minorities that "...many young black[9] people and their parents are still unaware of the full range of training and employment opportunities open to them" (BTEG, 2000:1). In some cases therefore, further education is seen as the easiest option because of the complexity of the training system (Kalra et al., 1999).

A lack of awareness of higher-quality vocational training, such as the MA which provides an income and the possibility of studying for higher-level qualifications could explain, in part, the reason for such small numbers on the MA (Sandwell TEC, 1997). In an early study of the YTS it was found that in one of the case studies under examination, ethnic minority youths were disengaged from the

[9] 'black' is used here to mean ethnic minority.

formal labour market and not registered as unemployed. Hence, the lack of knowledge of GST, its aims and the association with discredited schemes of the past meant fewer opted for this route (Fenton et al., 1984). Also, the low use of referral agencies was due once again to the lack of awareness or poor image of such agencies (in particular the Employment Service (ES) and TEC providers) among ethnic minorities. Moreover, it has been found that the referral agencies' understanding of the needs of certain ethnic minority groups were often outdated (Rolfe et al., 1996).

Another factor influencing knowledge of apprenticeships in particular has been labelled "lads of the dads" (Pilkington, 2003:47). A large number of firms were found to rely on family members of the existing workforce for recruitment and as a consequence did not advertise. Word of mouth therefore restricts knowledge available to potential ethnic minority applicants, particularly as fathers and uncles of young ethnic minorities were less likely to be employed in skilled areas of work (Lee and Wrench, 1981). Evidence of opportunities being unfairly limited has also been found more recently with respect to MAs in traditional apprenticeship sectors, such as engineering (Sandwell TEC, 1997). It is possible that parents of ethnic minority young people have not had the experience of industrial apprenticeships themselves (BTEG, 2000) hence restricting both access and knowledge of schemes such as MAs.

Marketing

How and where programmes are marketed will also influence recruitment onto them. Some of the material that is used to publicise such programmes does not use a diversity of young people. There was a lack of ethnic minorities in the marketing material that was used, for example, by the Western Training and Enterprise Council (WESTEC) in the southwest (Virk, 2000). This was also found to be an issue in the Essex TEC area, with particular reference to MA (CAG Consultants, 1997a). Such practices may lead ethnic minorities to think that these programmes are not for them. Moreover, research carried out in Walsall suggests that the lack of take-up by ethnic minorities in certain

occupations does not reflect discrimination on the part of employers or training providers, but has more to do with particular occupations themselves attracting a label that is exclusively white (Walsall TEC, 1998). Research in South London identified marketing as one of the key issues for increasing participation. It suggested that while the Department for Education and Employment's (DfEE, as it was then) national material on MAs was well written, it could have been more explicit and stronger in order to attract ethnic minorities, both in terms of young ethnic minorities and ethnic minority employers (CAG Consultants, 1997b). It has also been suggested by BTEG (2000) that, in marketing the MA, 'black' representation should be considered as a priority issue.

Attitudes and actions of providers, managing agents and sponsors

There are a number of actors with their respective roles involved in the overall process of the provision of GST. These include schools, the careers service, training providers, employers, other service providers and the funding providers. Their actions and attitudes can all also present opportunities or barriers to the participation and performance of ethnic minorities. Schools play an important role in providing information directly to young people, or access to them for other information providers. In the last few years post-16 education/training has become competitive and some schools have their own sixth forms where they encourage those completing compulsory education to stay on. As a result, schools see MAs as competition. One employer found that schools had not disseminated information to young people for that reason (CAG Consultants, 1997a, 1997b). This has also been found in a recent Association of Colleges survey, whereby one-third of young people believed that they had received inadequate careers information and advice at school (*The Guardian*, April 2003).

The careers service plays a major role in shaping and influencing young people's career decisions. Research shows that in actual fact it determines the eventual location of most trainees (Austen, 1987). Baqi (1987) interviewed 'Black' trainees in two London boroughs about the YTS and found that they

seemed to rely totally on the service for counselling and information. However, they were dissatisfied as little information was given on options other than YTS. The low use of referral agencies by ethnic minorities has already been mentioned. However, in London there is specific research on the careers service; young 'Black' men tended not to use the careers service (DfEE, 1997a). Similar evidence was found in East Lancashire in a survey that was carried out to examine the issues facing young people, parents and the unemployed within the ethnic community. Of the unemployed (based on 937 face-to-face structured interviews with unemployed Asians; 70% male and 30% female) it found that, "Almost half were unregistered or had not used either the Job Centre or the Careers Office; while 45% were registered at the Job Centre, only 4% had used the Careers Office and a mere 6% had used both sources" (ELTEC, 1993:6).

In the past, the careers service was not only a source of advice for young people, it had a major role in the recruitment to YTS. In 1987, 74% of total recruitment to YTS came from the careers service (Cross et al., 1990). In an early study of YTS there was evidence of stereotyping and of 'creaming off' better trainees to the disadvantage of young 'Black' people (Fenton et al., 1984). Also, the study suggests that the confusion of the term 'disadvantage' and 'racial characteristics' by practitioners led to the concentration of ethnic minorities on Mode B. In another study, the term 'special needs' added to this and the view was expressed that a special need of ethnic minority trainees was the protection or shelter from racism, hence channelling them to Mode B (Cross et al., 1990). However, "BTEG believes that this kind of association only serves to reinforce the institutional marginalisation of black people" (Crook, 1993:1).

These findings have been echoed by Cross et al. (1990), who found that stereotyping and protective challenging have been put forward as reasons why ethnic minorities are not on employer-based programme elements. Worse still, in their study they found that careers officers were reluctant to confront racial discrimination in the labour market. This was due to a number of possible reasons: to avoid jeopardising a YTS place; they were unclear as to what procedures to take; time and resources. In some instances, there was

ignorance of inequality in access to jobs and YTS. Where this was recognised, there was also sometimes evidence of 'blaming the victim' for such problems in terms of their educational performance, attitudes and culture. Even where there was awareness, there were still problems in the outcomes. For example, in Manchester it was not the case that stereotyped attitudes of careers staff were responsible for a high number of 'Black' young people being on 'premium' programmes, as there was a high level of racial awareness. There was, however, pressure on the careers service to discriminate from some employers and if individuals did not get a place on the 'basic' scheme, they were then channelled towards the public and voluntary sector. As the 'premium' schemes operated under strict financial pressures, they were unable to offer either the facilities or the range of training opportunities found on the 'basic' programme. Therefore, the research concluded, "Being disproportionately excluded from employer-led schemes young blacks in the inner-city therefore face the prospect of undertaking low ability training that fails to cater for their needs" (Freathy, 1991:96).

Training providers

There are few studies of providers, particularly with reference to adult training (Ogbonna, 1998). However, training providers can act as a major constraint to entry to GST for ethnic minorities. Evidence that is presented here consolidates some of the barriers already mentioned, but will be reiterated with specific reference to training providers.

Cambridge County Council and Greater Peterborough TEC commissioned research to investigate the higher levels of unemployment experienced by ethnic minorities groups in Cambridgeshire. Members of ethnic minorities were under-represented on training courses in the Peterborough area and training providers were interviewed to ask them why they think ethnic minorities did not attend. One response was, "We have adopted an open door policy yet they do not come through the door" (Roberts, 1997:40). Such a response puts the onus onto ethnic minorities themselves or on organisations and process operations

further 'upstream'. However, as mentioned already, there may not be widespread knowledge of the various courses and training options. Little attempt was made to specifically attract ethnic minorities in Cambridgeshire. It was found that 90% of the training providers in the survey did not specifically target ethnic minority organisations to distribute information concerning training. They tended to use careers conventions and advertise at careers and job centres as a way of marketing themselves, at which, as already mentioned, there was low attendance among ethnic minority groups. The same training provider quoted above cited financial restrictions as a reason for not producing material in other languages (Roberts, 1997). These activities may disadvantage ethnic minorities and a more proactive approach is required to increase representation. It has also been found that training providers are failing to recognise and respond to disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities specifically on the adult training programme, Employment Training (ET) (Ogbonna, 1998). The following discussion on recruitment and selection may suggest why such activity was not undertaken. TECs generally gave the responsibility of recruitment and selection to the training providers (Boddy, 1995). As a result of the funding structure, providers are more likely to recruit those who are more likely to complete their training and obtain positive outcomes. Thirty-seven per cent of the training providers questioned in the Cambridgeshire research mentioned above said that they had more difficulty in placing trainees from ethnic minorities than white trainees. One training provider explicitly said that they, "... still occasionally come across employers who will not take ethnic minority trainees" (Roberts, 1997:42).

Training providers also showed concern over the output-related funding when it was first introduced and how this created an incentive to become more selective in recruiting trainees (Rolfe et al., 1996). A representative of a TEC in the north of England indicated that:

> ... ethnic minorities and disabled people may need extra time in the training courses and may be a liability. [Output-related funding] has made providers more selective in who they choose to take on... Providers are becoming more selective so they can get people on the schemes who will achieve.
>
> Rolfe et al. (1996:55)

This was also echoed in a study on ET (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995).

A formal CRE investigation of a training provider called JHP Training Ltd found inadequate procedures and policies for equal opportunities, which meant ethnic minorities had to wait longer for interviews and attend more interviews than the white group before getting a placement (CRE, 1993). Ogbonna and Noon (1995) investigated how training providers dealt with discrimination, or would deal with it on ET programmes. There were cases where trainees had experienced discrimination and no action had been taken, despite training providers saying that any claims of such practice would be investigated. There was some evidence of training providers 'protective channelling' away from placements that may discriminate (Noon and Ogbonna, 1998), similar to that already mentioned by the careers service. It was also found that there were few ethnic minority staff employed by training providers: only three out of 120 training staff. In addition, trainees felt that non-ethnic minority staff were unsympathetic to their needs and problems (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995). There was also a lack of female role models and trainers (Roberts, 1997) and it was found that, "Asian women often sought training facilities close to their homes, often in a women-only environment" (Rolfe et al., 1996:37).

Research in London has shown that 'black'-led providers tended to achieve higher outputs for ethnic minority trainees (CAG Consultants, 1993). Moreover, BTEG believes "it is not possible to address black unemployment effectively without black organisations" (Crook, 1994:22). However, there is a lack of black[10] training providers and furthermore small providers, which most black providers tend to be, are at a disadvantage (Crook, 1994).

[10] Black here encompasses all ethnic minorities.

Employer discrimination & recruitment practices

Employer discrimination is a cause of the longer length of time to find placements for ethnic minorities and why they have to attend more interviews (CRE, 1993). Ethnic minorities were also found to be less likely to be sent to major institutions in banking, insurance and department stores. Instead they were more likely to be sent to small organisations or voluntary organisations, which are likely to have fewer resources (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995).

> In general, the trainees feel that discrimination is firmly embedded in the cultures and institutional arrangements which support the training programmes.
>
> Ogbonna and Noon (1995:555)

There may simply be a perception of racism by a potential trainee or it may be real. Whether real or not, racism was expressed as a factor preventing the take-up of training, in particular by 'Black' males (Roberts, 1997). There is evidence of sexual and racial discrimination on placements on YTS and ET (Usher, 1990; Brah and Shaw, 1992; Ogbonna and Noon, 1995). Postcode discrimination was also mentioned. Rolfe et al. (1996) found that in one TEC in the north of England where issues of racial segregation prevailed and were mirrored in the labour market, it was particularly difficult for providers to place Kashmiri and Pakistani trainees with white employers, therefore, jobs and placements were much more likely to be with ethnic minority employers. There is also evidence of indirect discrimination. The CRE (1984) found low numbers of 'black' trainees in schemes run nationally through the Large Companies Unit. They were under-represented in applications/referrals but also those who did apply were disproportionately unsuccessful in obtaining places.

Recruitment practices can also act as a barrier to ethnic minorities where they are employer led (Freathy, 1991). There is "... overwhelming evidence ... that recruitment to YTS schemes run by industry mirrors recruitment practices for employment in general" (Cross and Smith, 1987:8). This therefore replicates ethnic minority disadvantage in the labour market in terms of employment. As already mentioned, recruitment by word of mouth exacerbates the situation for

minority groups. "Some TECs and careers services were finding they were having little impact on local employers' recruitment practices" (DfEE, 1997a:14). Recruitment procedures were also reviewed (Lee and Wrench, 1981). There was potential for disadvantage in that the use of aptitude tests which can be culturally biased (see *Discriminating Fairly: A Guide to Fair Selection*, by the Runnymede Trust/British Psychological Society, 1980). Also, the objectivity of interviews was questioned as the findings showed that organisations with little experience of employing ethnic minorities perceived the applicant to be less likely to have qualities the recruiter is looking for. Evidence of this can be shown from an interview with a training officer of a medium-sized engineering firm: "I suppose at an interview you tend to look for people who are like yourself. They are not like us" (Lee and Wrench, 1981:6). In response to equal opportunities and in order to increase participation of ethnic minorities, BTEG have put forward that it is necessary to, "Encourage employers to adopt fair, objective selection methods" (BTEG, 2000:8).

Training allowance

The training allowance was also something that put potential trainees off. Previous programmes such as the YTS was seen as slave labour (Kalra et al., 1999) and the quality of the training was poor as was the allowance received (Baqi, 1987). Research in London found that some young people were opting for jobs as the revival of the economy offered more jobs and higher salaries (DfEE, 1997a). The same source showed that there was a disparity in the training allowance on the MA. The average was £105.87 per week, but 10% of the sample received £50 or under and 9% received between £151 and £200 per week. Though not specific to ethnic minorities, the most cited recommendation by MA apprentices was more money/higher wages (Saunders et al., 1997). Other research found ethnic minorities experiencing a difference in pay such that 61% of white participants earned more than £12,500 compared to only 43% of 'Black' participants (Focus, 1999).

Entry requirements

The individual's destination post-16 depends not only on the options that are available and the knowledge of these choices, but more importantly on the level of qualifications that are required. There is conflicting evidence on this with reference to both the YTS and MA. An early study looked at YTS during 1983-84 for 'Afro'-Caribbean and white girls and found that the selective recruitment practices of many Mode A (employer-based) schemes disadvantaged the former group due to their lower levels of academic achievement and who therefore were disproportionately on Mode B (Austen, 1987). Cross and Smith (1987), however, found that young 'Afro'-Caribbeans and Asians in the inner-city entering YTS were as likely to have educational qualifications which are at least as high as their white peers.

It was found that entry requirements for MAs differed, as some employers required five GCSEs between grades A-C, while others did not (CAG Consultants, 1997b). The entry requirements could therefore potentially disadvantage lower achievers. As with the YTS, there is counter-evidence as research commissioned by Walsall TEC (1998) suggests that the non-take-up of the MA programme had more to do with the post-16 choices young ethnic minorities make, rather than their level of qualifications. Nor did inadequate qualifications seem to be the case in Wolverhampton. The Customer Satisfaction Survey of Youth Training showed that ethnic minority groups were more likely to be qualified than the white group (Prism Research, 1998).

Language barriers can be a problem for those for whom English is not their first language. Language may be a particular problem for adults as opposed to younger ethnic minorities who are more likely to be born in the UK. However, research carried out by Ogbonna and Noon (1995) shows that it is the perception that others have of language barriers, than language being a problem in itself. Though there is evidence to suggest that recent immigrants and many of the older generation still have difficulties (Roberts, 1997), in Rolfe et al.'s study (1996) of the effectiveness of TECs in achieving jobs and

qualifications for disadvantaged groups, a number of TECs had mentioned this to be an issue, for example those who have worked in manufacturing and are now unemployed and in need of new skills and English language skills. Language issues, such as the lack of English, or having a foreign accent was the most common problem that was cited in research in Essex for the lack of take-up of training opportunities among ethnic minority groups (CAG Consultants, 1997a). Other findings have reported that it is not just refugee groups who need language support of some sort, for example the Bosnians in Essex who came to England in 1992 (CAG Consultants, 1997a). Also Somali, Yemeni, Pakistani and Bangladeshi children of immigrants (first generation) were more likely to have language problems (DfEE, 1997a).

Policy issues

Mainstream government programmes are formulated with a 'colour-blind' approach and these do not work (The Parekh Report, 2000). Lee and Wrench (1981) carried out a study in Birmingham and interviewed employers who took on apprentices and school leavers to examine their aspirations and intentions post-schooling. The study found evidence of and further potential for indirect discrimination, which is described as a subtle form of the manufacture of disadvantage. Its occurrence is essentially embedded in a 'colour-blind' approach in that all applicants are treated the same (Lee and Wrench, 1987:86). Evidence of this is also shown more recently in adult training (ET) (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995). Half the training providers in the study claimed to be 'colour blind' perceiving all trainees equally. They argued that no cultural difference needed to be accounted for. In practice, however, this meant that ethnic minority trainees had to adapt to the norms of the majority group. For example, one provider in the study said:

> We had a trainee ... that we sent on a placement. I explained that if he wanted to pray that he should ask the manager nicely and not expect that he will be as understanding as we are.
>
> Ogbonna and Noon (1995:548)

Also in Essex (CAG Consultants, 1997b) it was found that ethnic minority groups were viewed as no different to the majority group and therefore no targeting was required for mainstream or specific provision. However, the research found there to be very different ethnic minority communities in Essex, such as people who have been in the UK a long time, new arrivals, refugees, people who have been born in the UK, professionally qualified people, the self-employed as well as those who are unemployed, all of whom have different needs. Despite this, no attempt was made to identify and cater for their specific needs. There is some evidence of heterogeneity being acknowledged and therefore the different needs and problems faced by people from different groups are being recognised. This was mainly in terms of language support (English for Speakers of Other Languages, ESOL). However, culture was seen as a barrier to Asian women in particular (Rolfe et al., 1996) rather than accommodating for any specific needs, such as training provision nearby and providing female trainers.

Operational Issues

The operational organisation (be it the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), TEC or Learning and Skills Council (LSC)) can be of great importance in reducing inequalities of outcomes. As Boddy (1995:3) suggests:

> TECs are clearly only one element in the education, training and labour market experience of people from ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, given their role, they have considerable potential for combating disadvantage in the training and labour market as opposed to passively reproducing or at worst contributing to such disadvantage.

As the funding provider, the operational organisation should be able to influence the processes and procedures of programme delivery. Equal opportunities and related practices are just as important in-house as they are for contracted service providers. There are a number of possible explanations to the history of under-representation of ethnic minorities, which have been influenced by the administrative institution (with particular reference to the MA programme). In the first year of the MA programme most TECs needed to hit demanding targets within a short period of time, therefore trainees considered as easy pickings

were recruited as they were seen as a 'safer option' in terms of drop-out rates. There were also a large number of YT conversions into MA (49% of MAs as a whole), which tended to disadvantage ethnic minorities, as they were less likely to have employed status (CAG Consultants, 1997b). This reinforced existing employment patterns (DfEE, 1997a), particularly as the early frameworks available were traditional craft sectors, therefore, the MA replicated white male domination of those sectors. Besides, employers can convert existing employees into modern apprentices. Although there was no firm evidence for this, it is suggested that there was room for potential discrimination, as not all eligible employees may have been put forward for the MA assessment (CAG Consultants, 1997b).

There are also issues with the funding structure. The introduction of output-related funding generally exacerbated the problem for ethnic minority groups (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995). Boddy (1995) describes it as a potential source of indirect discrimination as training providers are only likely to take trainees who are likely to gain positive outcomes. Although one of the advantages of this form of funding is that it focuses on achievement rather than process, therefore discouraging 'bums on seats' (Crook, 1994), payment for outputs achieved leads to a 'creaming' effect in the selection process of the trainees and is disadvantaging to black trainees (Crook, 1994; Boddy, 1995). This has been admitted to explicitly by TECs:

> It had resulted in many providers becoming more selective in their recruitment, so that those who were at risk of not achieving an outcome were denied access to courses.
> Rolfe et al. (1996:43)

There was a difference of opinion by a Chief Executive who expressed that the output-related funding had helped ethnic minorities as it standardised the quality of training (Rolfe et al., 1996). However, tighter budgets meant that the length of some of the courses had to be capped, disadvantaging those who may need longer, for example those for whom English is a second language.

Government has made attempts with reference to the disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities, but is also criticised by BTEG for its efforts: "The Government's Strategic Guidance does outline in broad terms that it wants to see what steps TECs are taking to ensure disadvantaged groups have equality of access and outcomes but gives no indication of how this should be achieved" (Crook, 1994:8). There has been some activity to counteract this. For example, two of the TECs in the eight cases researched by Boddy (1995) were using bonus payments in order to encourage effective provision for ethnic minorities. The DfEE also took measures by ring-fencing output-related funding taking account of special needs (Rolfe et al., 1996).

Despite TECs having to develop equal opportunity strategies and set out how they were going to address the needs of ethnic minorities in their corporate plan, there was still a disparity of outcomes over successive years (TEC/CCTE (Chamber of Commerce, Training and Enterprise) Performance Indicators, 1997-98, 1998-99, 1999-2000, 2000-2001). Disadvantage was recognised as an important issue by most TECs, although very little was done in terms of TEC policy or approach, particularly with reference to training schemes (Rolfe et al., 1996:64). It is recognised that most organisations work under financial and economic constraints. Some TECs found in the first year of the MA they had not been able to dedicate enough resources to equal opportunities and had to work with the pressure of getting the programme up and running and obtaining a high number of apprentices. As a result, equal opportunities were left out of the MA.

There are other issues operating here. Internally, there were few ethnic minority staff in TECs (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995, 1998), particularly in senior positions (Boddy, 1995). Also, there were few ethnic minority TEC Directors (Crook, 1994; Boddy, 1995), which has also been an issue for the current operational organisation, the Learning and Skills Councils (LSCs). In October 2000, the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education found that there was only one chair from an ethnic minority group, out of a possible 47, contradicting the LSC's mission to strive for equal opportunities (*The Guardian*, October 2000b). Again

with reference to TECs, in another report it was found that, while the boards in the study included ethnic minorities, there was a lack of diversity as most were Asian men (Rolfe et al., 1996). There was also a lack of community consultation (Crook, 1993, 1994; Boddy, 1995). Addressing these issues could help to alleviate some of the barriers.

3.1.2.2 Socio-economic Barriers

The socio-economic barriers that will be discussed include: the 'invisibility' of ethnic minorities; the geographical area in which they reside; parents/family; the aspirations of young people and attitudes young people have of government-supported programmes.

Invisibility of ethnic minority communities

This has been identified as one of the main barriers in Essex (CAG Consultants, 1997a:19):

> A common, almost defensive, response of service providers for low take up by ethnic minority communities was that there were few ethnic minorities to be seen. This 'invisibility' is compounded by a perception of racism in Essex by ethnic minority communities which results in isolation, and an unwillingness to be identified.

Experiences of ethnic minority people interviewed in the research show evidence of this:

> In Essex, the authorities really discriminate. For a start they don't see us although we've been here for years. That means that service provision doesn't cater for our culture, for example there are no Indian books in the library. We can't get real assistance for voluntary groups either. It's like we don't exist.
>
> CAG Consultants (1997a:19)

Coupled with this, as already mentioned, ethnic minorities may not be registered unemployed, therefore they are 'not in the system' and hence 'invisible'. This may be more profound where ethnic minority communities are clustered or concentrated in particular locations, such as Essex (CAG Consultants, 1997a).

Geographical location

The geographical location of ethnic minorities also acts as a barrier to participation. This was found by Lee and Wrench (1987) in their study of apprenticeships. They found that some employers operated a catchment area policy for recruitment purposes, which may have eliminated ethnic minorities in the event of the catchment area being a white suburb. One of the explanations for the concentration of ethnic minorities on Mode B was their location in the inner-city, where there was less likely to be employer-based training due to the decline in the manufacturing base. This was also one of the reasons put forward by Freathy (1991) in his study in Manchester of access and participation of young black people and the YTS.

As mentioned in Chapter Two ethnic minorities are less likely to have access to a car than other unemployed people (Shropshire et al., 1999). As a result, Indian and Pakistani females in particular, indicated transport difficulties as a factor making it difficult to take up training (Roberts, 1997). Therefore, the location of the training provider is important for Asian females as their parents do not want them to travel too far from their homes. There is also evidence to suggest that ethnic minorities do not venture outside their area.

Parents/family

The attitudes of parents and other people in the decision-making process of what choices to make for the future are important. The majority of Asian youth said their parents took "a lot of interest" in their post-school decisions and that parents and other family were the second most important influence on their choice after themselves (ELTEC, 1993). However, one Chief Executive of a North England TEC said, "there is a massive problem with the attitudes of careers officers, teachers and parents who are very anti-YT" (Rolfe et al., 1996:42).

It is not just the *attitudes* of parents; they also tend to lack an understanding and awareness of youth training, coupled with not having experienced the programmes themselves. They are therefore less likely to advise their children towards the vocational training route. Some TECs and providers tried to disseminate information on programmes, for example one provider held a marketing event in an ethnic minority area but no ethnic minorities attended, even though a few had walked past (Roberts, 1997). Research on the participation of ethnic minority young people in Sandwell, in the West Midlands, found that even where material had been translated into other languages it had little effect on parental perceptions (Sandwell TEC, 1997).

Parents tend to favour the academic route and therefore YTS in particular was seen as a last resort (Cross et al., 1990; Kalra et al., 1999). This could be related to the fact that parents who did manual work want better for their children. What is more, the term 'apprenticeship' is culturally specific and either has little or negative meaning for ethnic minorities (Sandwell TEC, 1997). It was found that in areas of the country with a high component of white collar or service industry jobs, there was higher ethnic minority starts on the MA programmes. Conversely, where there was higher blue collar or traditional manufacturing jobs there were fewer MA starts (DfEE, 1997a).

Family commitments may also make it difficult for some to take part in training. About a half of Pakistani and Indian females stated this to be a significant barrier compared to only 18% of white females of working age (Roberts, 1997). This also is inter-related to gender issues, as another factor was restrictions placed on women. In some cases, cultural barriers were seen to restrict employment opportunities for Asian women (Rolfe et al., 1996:18).

Aspirations

It could be argued that it may not be solely parents' influence. Young people have their own aspirations. Cross et al. (1990) found that approximately twice as many Asians than white people aspired to white collar jobs (not the same for

African-Caribbean), therefore they are less likely to participate in YTS, as figures show only 16% of Asian males participated in YTS compared to 40% white and 50% African-Caribbean males.

Attitudes towards government-supported programmes

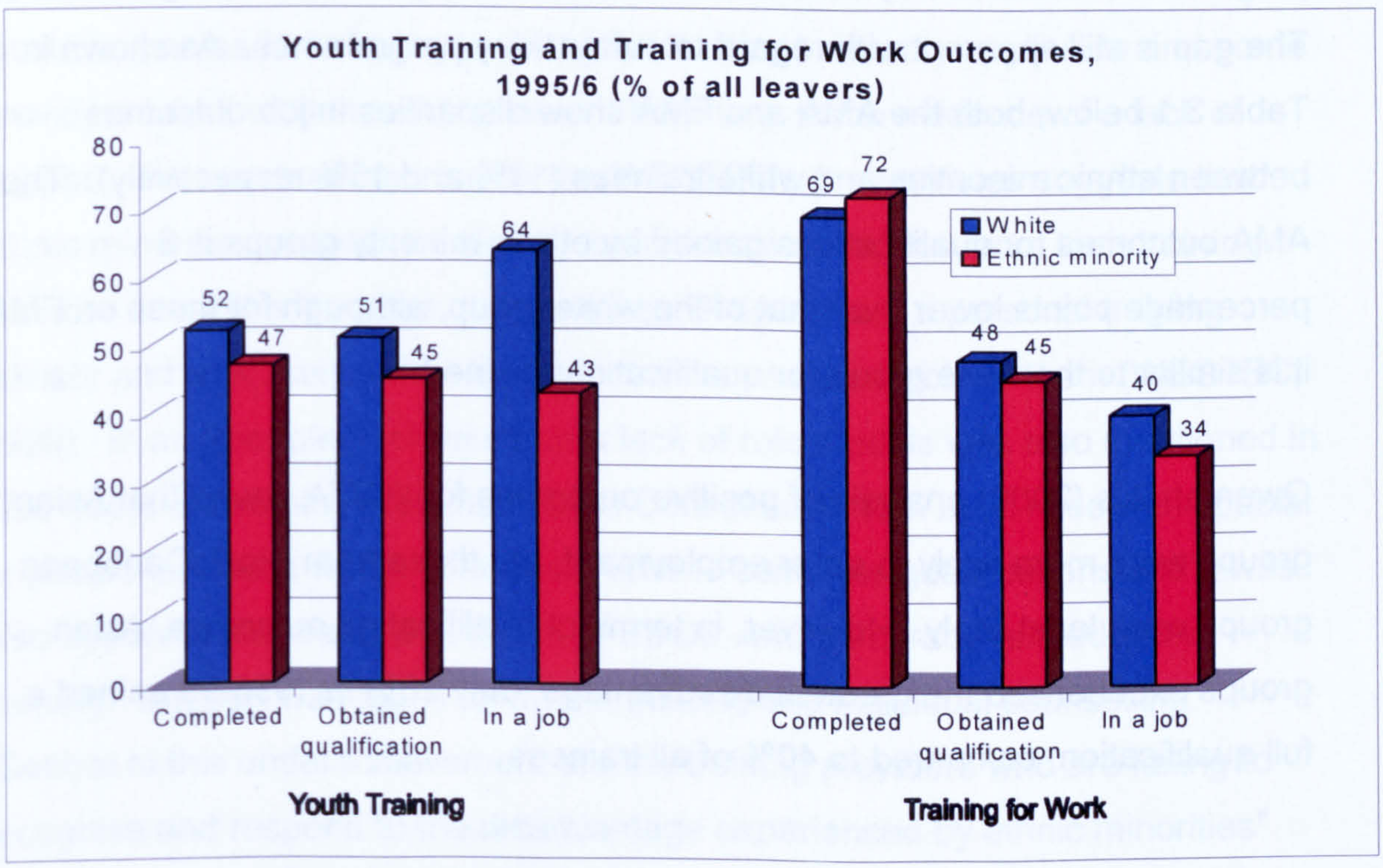
There is a stigma attached to GST or a 'negative image' among sections of the ethnic minority community (Boddy, 1995). More specifically, Bangladeshi and Pakistani youth will go on the recommendations and experiences of friends and relatives (Kalra et al., 1999). They tend to be cynical about the usefulness of the schemes (Rolfe et al., 1996) and their attitudes of past programmes are that they were 'crap' (YTS). Therefore:

> The poor image and reputation of mainstream training and work experience programmes among potential trainees remains a serious obstacle to increased participation and commitment.
>
> Boddy (1995:viii)

3.1.3 Underachievement: Qualifications and Job Outcomes

Ethnic minorities that do undergo GST are less likely than white participants to achieve qualifications and job outcomes. Figure 3.1 shows that there are significant differences in the percentages of ethnic minority and white leavers of GST in completing their training, obtaining qualifications and in getting a job. Figures for YT show that ethnic minorities are five percentage points less likely to complete training than the white group and six percentage points less likely to obtain qualifications. The largest disparity is in job outcomes at 21 percentage points between the two groups (CRE, 1998a). On the one hand, ethnic minorities on adult programmes are in fact marginally more likely to complete the programme (by three percentage points), but they are still slightly less likely to obtain a qualification (also by three percentage points) compared to white participants; also, similar to the youth programmes there is also a difference in job outcomes, though at a much lower rate at a six percentage point difference between white and ethnic minority groups for 1995/96 data (CRE, 1998a).

The Fourth National Survey found similar results. Although the chances of employment did improve as a result of participation on government training, white participants were slightly more likely to be employed after participation. About 50% of ethnic minority participants found work after the scheme, compared to 60% of white participants. The same study also found that a significant percentage of ethnic minority trainees that went on the scheme were unemployed upon leaving. Again there was diversity among the groups in that a higher percentage of Caribbeans (men in particular) and South Asians were unemployed post-scheme than white people (Modood et al., 1997). No distinction is made in Modood et al.'s (1997) analysis of the Fourth National Survey between youth and adult programmes.



Source: CRE (1998a) (Original source: *DfEE, Statistical Bulletin, May 1997)*

Figure 3.1

As there is a higher disparity in the job outcomes for youth programmes, therefore this issue will be looked at in more detail. There is a history of differences in outcomes that can be traced from YTS to current-day programmes. Research on YTS showed that 61% of white trainees found

employment post-YTS compared to only 39% of black trainees (Ollernshaw, 1986). Lee and Wrench (1987) concluded that Mode B (non-vocational) training was of a 'relatively low standard', and that even without racism the chances of future employment 'will' be much lower than for trainees on employer-based modes. In line with these findings, Cross et al. (1990) found that over 60% of Mode A trainees (employer-based) went into employment after their participation in the YTS, however, only between 30% and 40% of Mode B1 and B2 trainees (non-vocational) went into employment. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there was a preponderance of white trainees and lack of ethnic minority trainees on Mode A. Freathy (1991) also found that the type of programme determines post-YTS employment prospects. His findings showed that of those on the 'basic' scheme, 59% went into full-time employment after the programme, whereas only 29% did who were on the 'premium'[11] programme. The gap is still apparent with regard to current-day programmes. As shown in Table 3.1 below, both the AMA and FMA show disparities in job outcomes between ethnic minorities and white trainees (11% and 16% respectively). The AMA outcomes for qualifications gained by ethnic minority groups is 8 percentage points lower than that of the white group, although for those on FMA it is similar to the white group for qualifications gained.

Owen et al.'s (2000) analysis of positive outcomes for WBTA, found that Asian groups were more likely to enter employment, but those from Black/Caribbean groups were least likely. However, in terms of qualification outcomes, Asian groups experienced the greatest disadvantage, only 28% in 1998-99 gained a full qualification, compared to 40% of all trainees.

[11] 'Premium': YTS wanted to scrap Mode B because of the high cost, but instead changed it to 'premium places' for those with special needs and disadvantaged people to ensure provision was available in areas of high unemployment and where employer-based places were not available.

Table 3.1: Outcomes of AMA and FMA by ethnicity for those leaving during the period of Aug 1999 - July 2000

Outcome	White (%)	EM (%)	Difference (%)
AMA - gained full qualification	68	60	8
AMA in job	85	74	11
FMA - gained full qualification	44	45	-1
FMA in job	68	52	16

Source: Statistical First Release (2002b)

There is little research on the reasons for under-achievement of qualifications and outcomes post-training. Ogbonna and Noon (1995) asked providers questions as to why ethnic minority trainees were less successful. Whilst the typical response was to deny that they were less successful, others blamed local companies for refusing to offer jobs to ethnic minority applicants and some providers laid the blame on trainees. There was some evidence of a lack of support. Research carried out on the WESTEC's programmes suggests that ethnic minorities experience slightly lower levels of support from their training provider than other trainees, they are less likely to have a personal training advisor and less likely to feel that their trainer was available to them (WESTEC, 1999). In another piece of research a lack of role models was also mentioned in TEC suppliers/training providers (CAG Consultants, 1997b). Those with special or additional needs would need more time to complete qualifications and it was also apparent that there was a lack of ESOL, and numeracy-related skills training. Support was found to vary in training and individual counselling. "Central to this underachievement are the training providers who are failing to recognise and respond to the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities" (Noon and Ogbonna, 1998:23).

There is also an issue with those 'dropping out', leaving and not completing qualifications. Almost 60% of all YT trainees dropped out early (1992/93 data in *Working Brief*, 1994). Typical reasons for this were that the programme was not right for them in the first place or that they felt they were doing 'dogs-body' work

for little return. Calderdale and Kirklees TEC, in their *Equality Strategy* (1999-2000), suggested that ethnic minority males in particular tend to leave national traineeships or other training without completing their NVQ to enter further education provision. In Wolverhampton (Prism Research, 1999a) 50% of ethnic minority trainees on one of the youth programmes failed to complete their training programme compared to 35% of white trainees. Although reasons were given for non-completion, the results were not broken down by ethnicity. Figures for Training for Work (adult training) for the same year showed 35% of ethnic minority adults to have failed to complete their training programme as opposed to 28% white trainees (Prism Research, 1999b).

The employment of ethnic minorities appears to be a big challenge post-training. Explanations for this include the fact that, as already mentioned, fewer ethnic minorities were on the employer-based status of the programmes, resulting in fewer ethnic minorities with jobs (DfEE, 1997a; Modood et al., 1997). Discrimination was considered to be a major cause for ethnic minorities not getting jobs after training (Ogbonna and Noon, 1995, 1998). It was also frequently cited as a major constraint by TECs, who also found evidence of postcode discrimination (Rolfe et al., 1996).

There is evidence that generally in the job search process ethnic minorities have to complete more applications than the white group, however, they are not attending more interviews than white job seekers (Shropshire et al., 1999). Another possible explanation for the lower job outcomes for ethnic minorities is the lack of post-programme support. There was evidence in a North England TEC of increased job outcomes as TEC Employment Advisors in Jobcentres were offering guidance and advice post Training for Work (adult training). However, the extent of this practice was questioned. In the same report it was also mentioned that having links with employers adds to running costs. Therefore such contacts were not maintained (Rolfe et al., 1996).

The following section goes on to discuss current government policy in the form of the New Deal programmes for the unemployed.

3.2 THE NEW DEAL AND ETHNIC MINORITES

Welfare-to-Work is at the heart of current government employment strategy. It is designed to combat long-term unemployment. It includes the New Deal programmes for the unemployed and area-based programmes such as Employment Zones, Intermediate Labour Markets and Action Teams for Jobs. The New Deal for Young People (NDYP) and New Deal for those aged 25+ (ND25+) are the key focus here and are reviewed in this section as they are mainstream programmes and are available and compulsory to those around the country after six months and 18 months of unemployment respectively.

The overall objectives of the New Deals are:

- to increase long-term employability and help young people and long-term unemployed people, lone parents and disabled people into jobs;
- improve their prospects of staying and progressing in employment.

Finn (2001:77)

The New Deal aims to provide individually tailored, practical help in improving job prospects and building up skills and to break the vicious circle of no job, no experience, no experience, no job. The New Deal offers help, support and advice to individuals to increase their employability through gaining high-quality training and work experience (see Appendix B for details on the New Deal programmes).

This section looks at the New Deal with respect to ethnic minorities. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it has long been recognised that ethnic minorities experience differential outcomes as a result of participating in GST. The aim of this section is to explore whether the New Deal programmes are any different. This section will set out what is in place within the New Deal framework with specific reference to ethnic minorities. It will then go on to critically analyse ethnic minority participation, the options they choose and the job outcomes for both the NDYP and the ND25+ in order to gauge whether the disparities experienced on previous programmes are still prevalent.

3.2.1 Measures in Place to Improve the New Deal

New Labour's Statements of Intent

New Labour recognised that the level of unemployment of ethnic minorities was a problem and subsequently ministers at the time made a number of pledges in order to address this. In 1997, the social security secretary at the time, Harriet Harman said the following:

> For too long, ethnic minority communities have had to face more than their share of social exclusion, poverty and unemployment. Unemployment among black men of working age is unacceptably high... Many women face double discrimination because of their gender and ethnic origin... The government will tackle these problems.
>
> Hermes (1997)

The solution was seen as in terms of employment:

> Work is the best form of welfare for all people of working age. We are determined to take action to ensure equal opportunities for people from ethnic minorities in helping them to find work.
>
> Hermes (1997)

The minister of employment at the time, Andrew Smith (1998) followed in this esteem with specific reference to the New Deal:

> We want a programme that will reach the many thousands of young black and ethnic minority young people and help equip them to find jobs... New Deal is about ending exclusion.

In 1998, with respect to the New Deal and specific reference to equality, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, was quoted in the Foreword of *New Deal: Engaging Ethnic Minority Jobseekers and Businesses* (Employment Service (ES), 1998) document as saying:

> The New Deal is the flagship of our policies on welfare to work. It is central to our goal of making Britain a fairer, more decent society.
>
> ES (1998:Foreword)

In the same document Andrew Smith went on to say:

> To deliver the Prime Minister's vision it is vital that the New Deal fully involves ethnic minorities. The Employment Service, Task Force and partners must engage effectively with employers, providers and job seekers from all the ethnic minority groups in our society to create the conditions for success for the New Deal. This will be achieved

> much more effectively where local partnerships reflect the composition and diversity of the community in which they are based.
>
> ES (1998:1)

It is the first time that there has been an emphasis on ethnic minorities on a mainstream programme with strong commitment from government. Prior to the New Deal, no other mainstream labour market programme specifically considered ethnic minority people in programme design or delivery:

> Until recently, there have been no labour market initiatives that have been targeted at people from ethnic minority backgrounds.
>
> Cabinet Office (2000:132)

In fact the New Deal has been cited as a programme, which has the remit to improve delivery, increase participation and enhance performance for ethnic minorities (Cabinet Office, 2000:132). In fact, this has been the first labour market programme from the outset to try and ensure that the same job outcomes are achieved for ethnic minorities as the white participants:

> We have set a target that all New Deal partnerships achieve parity of job outcomes between ethnic minority and white clients by the end of this Parliament.[12]
>
> Jowell (2000a)

Parity of outcomes for ethnic minorities is also one of the key objectives of the relatively newly formed Jobcentre Plus (DWP, 2004).

At the planning stage of the New Deal, it was recognised that ethnic minority participation and performance could pose a problem, as other programmes in the past have portrayed as shown in the previous section. Consultation and analysis was carried out and the implementation of various initiatives and activities has taken place and continue to do so. Since the beginning of the New Deal programmes there has been a number of activities, most of which are described below, some of which are specifically for ethnic minorities, for

[12] However, since parity of outcome was not achieved during the lifetime of the last Parliament, targets for all New Deal programmes have been set to achieve equality (Cabinet Office, 2000:134).

example, language training (ESOL), and there are others that are more generic that also benefit ethnic minority communities, such as the Innovation Fund.

A number of things have been put in place over the course of the New Deal. The following has been in place with respect to ethnic minority clients: an ethnic minority strategy; ethnic monitoring; key indicators measuring job outcomes for ethnic minorities and white clients; and work with ethnic minority groups in order to improve and strengthen the ability of the New Deal to meet the needs of ethnic minorities (Cabinet Office, 2000). Other benefits for ethnic minority clients on the New Deal are that they have access to language support (ESOL and the availability of interpreters) and there is early entry for those for whom English is a foreign language.

In April 2000, new measures were announced by Teresa Jowell, the Employment Minister at the time. These were to 'boost the job chances for ethnic minorities on New Deal'.

> The New Deal has the most comprehensive ethnic monitoring of any employment programme – and the figures show that people from minority ethnic backgrounds do better through the New Deal than in the labour market as a whole. But they are still not doing as well as their white counterparts ...
>
> Jowell (2000b)

Therefore further measures were put forward to make improvements to the New Deal:

- Setting the Employment Service a new objective to help everyone in a way which respects individual differences, and helps to overcome barriers due to ethnicity, gender, age or disability;
- Ensuring that everyone involved in delivering New Deal is aware of labour market inequality and recognises the value of cultural diversity;
- Working with the Task Force's Minority Ethnic Advisory Group to review New Deal performance in helping ethnic minority people into work;
- Contracting in minority ethnic expertise to assist those areas which face additional challenges in tackling ethnic inequality;
- Encouraging events like the Scarman Trust discussion group in Birmingham specifically for young black people to influence policy;
- Developing a training pack for all people involved in New Deal to help increase and enhance participation.

Jowell (2000b)

Since then other initiatives have also been put in place in order to enhance ethnic minority performance on the New Deal. These include: 'Closing the Gap Toolkit'; The Innovation Fund and outreach activities (House of Commons Research Paper, 2003) and other programmes, such as Step Up and Action Teams. These initiatives will now be described in more detail.

3.2.1.1 Design of the NDYP (1997)

The *Design of the New Deal for 18-24 year olds* (DfEE, 1997b) sets out arrangements for ensuring that New Deal provision meets the needs of all ethnic and racial groups (see Appendix C). This document put forward 12 points, which included the following: to involve ethnic minority organisations in local New Deal partnerships and for them to be fully consulted in local implementation and development of the programme; in terms of delivery, all elements of the programme will promote racial equality and consider how best the needs of ethnic minorities should be met; and ethnic monitoring, which will enable the identification of barriers to equality of opportunity/outcomes at each stage, so as to ensure participation at each stage of the range of gateway provision and options.

It was also specified that NDYP would be comprehensively evaluated. It was put forward that an assessment would be made of the impact on different ethnic groups and the involvement of ethnic minority organisations, businesses, community groups and individuals in the delivery of the New Deal.

3.2.1.2 Ethnic Minority Strategy and Consultation (1998)

The Employment Service (ES), the operational organisation at the time of the launch of the New Deal programmes for the unemployed, was aware of the importance that the New Deal should engage ethnic minority employers and providers. Therefore, it devised a draft strategy entitled *Delivering New Deal,*

Ethnic Minority Strategy (CAG Consultants, 1998). In this document the ES pledged that:

> We are committed to ensuring the full involvement of ethnic minorities in New Deal. Young people of ethnic minority background are twice as likely to be unemployed and in the New Deal client group and it is important to engage their interest in the programme. It is just as important, however, that New Deal should engage ethnic minority employers and providers. If New Deal is to be a social and economic success it will be vital that the stakeholders reflect the cultural diversity in this country.
>
> CAG Consultants (1998:39)

In May 1998, the draft ethnic minority strategy was distributed for consultation to ES District Managers, national agencies, as well as ethnic minority organisations. CAG consultants were commissioned to collate the responses and write a report on the findings (CAG, 1998). The strategy document was thereafter produced, entitled *New Deal, Engaging Ethnic Minority Jobseekers and Businesses* (ES, 1998). This document set out the strategy under five key objectives, which were as follows:

- Setting the Employment Service a new objective to help everyone in a way which respects individual differences, and helps to overcome barriers due to ethnicity, gender, age or disability

- To ensure that the design and future development of the New Deal meets the needs of all young jobseekers, including those from ethnic minorities

- To ensure that the design and future development of the New Deal meets the needs of employers, including ethnic minority businesses and that they are able to take full advantage of the support available through New Deal

- To ensure that wider ethnic minority networks are aware of and engaged with New Deal

- To ensure that ethnic minority providers are represented, appropriately, and have the opportunity to participate in the delivery of the New Deal

ES (1998:2)

The document also set out detailed activities and steps to support the objectives, along with arrangements for monitoring and reviewing the strategy. It also stipulated that meetings would take place annually with leading ethnic minority representatives to review the effectiveness of the strategy and agree future action. It also denoted that the ES (as it was then) would formally review

achievements against the action plan on a yearly basis; however, progress would be monitored at six-monthly intervals.

3.2.1.3 Closing the Gap Toolkit

As a result of the ethnic minority strategy document (ES, 1998), one of the action points was to, "develop a 'mapping/assessment tool' that will 'baseline' the extent of ethnic minority involvement in New Deal" (ES, 1998:12).

The toolkit called *Closing the Gap – A Self Assessment Pack for New Deal Partnerships* was produced in close collaboration with the Black Training and Enterprise Group (BTEG) and a number of New Deal Units of Delivery (UoDs).

The objectives of the toolkit were set to enable New Deal partnerships to:

- Identify the extent and quality of ethnic minority involvement in New Deal;
- Develop benchmarks against which further performance and continuous improvement can be evaluated;
- Prioritise issues for further development;
- Design, implement and monitor action plans for increasing and enhancing participation.

Closing the Gap (nd:6)

It stipulates that one of the benefits of the toolkit is being able to provide partnerships with information in order to review their performance of service delivery to the ethnic minority community (for full list of benefits, see page 6 of *Closing the Gap*). The role of the toolkit is to help partnerships to obtain structured information for ethnic minority action plans, the six-monthly reviews, core performance measures and continuous improvement performance strategy. This was made available to all UoDs free of charge. It includes nine modules, which are: inclusive partnerships, consultation, staff development, engaging ethnic minority providers, engaging ethnic minority employers, engaging ethnic minority jobseekers, mentoring, ESOL, and continuous improvement. It was made explicit within the document that some of the modules would have greater priority for some partnerships than others (page 4, *Closing the Gap*).

3.2.1.4 Innovation Fund

There was increasing concern about ethnic minority outcomes, therefore funding was made available for innovative projects to address such problems. One of these measures was the introduction of the Innovation Fund. This aimed to test ideas and activities in particular local-level projects, which were to improve performance outcomes and extend knowledge of what works (best practice). In turn the ES could use this information elsewhere across the country in assisting other jobseekers to overcome barriers faced in the labour market.

There have been two rounds of innovation funding making £9.5 million available for three years, from the year 2000. The Innovation Fund Prospectus (2000) outlines guidance for the different parts of the fund. Although this initiative was not solely for the benefit of ethnic minority groups, specific references to ethnic minorities were made in the guidelines, for example:

> Special attention may need to be given to helping participants from ethnic minority backgrounds and with other particular barriers to employment.
>
> (2000:5)

> ... special priority will be placed on proposals which are a) designed to reach ethnic minority individuals and firms.
>
> (2000:10)

> ... we are particularly interested in projects which are designed to ... improve outreach and recruitment to ethnic minority and disadvantaged groups.
>
> (2000:11)

3.2.1.5 Outreach Activity

Outreach pilots commenced in 2002, the aim of which are "to narrow the gap between the overall employment rate and the employment rate of ethnic minorities" (House of Commons Research Paper, 2003:86). The projects are to attract people to mainstream programmes such as the New Deal, by improving links with ethnic minority communities and employers, or through the provision

of specialist training. Projects were piloted from April 2002 to April 2004[13] in the East Midlands, Greater London, Greater Manchester, West Midlands and West Yorkshire.

3.2.1.6 Other Activities/Initiatives

There are a number of other activities which aim to improve the performance of the New Deal programmes. These include the National Employment Panel's Minority Ethnic Advisory Group (MEAG) (formerly the Ethnic Minority Task Force) which advises the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) on increasing the effectiveness of the New Deal for ethnic minority clients (*Hansard*, 2002). The members of the MEAG include the Chief Executive of BTEG among many others.

There are also other initiatives running alongside New Deal, such as the Employment Zones (EZs), Step Up, Action Teams for Jobs and Progress to Work. Like the outreach activities mentioned above, they are not all available in all areas (see Cabinet Office, 2000, for further details). There is some evidence to suggest that the area-based EZ, in particular, does not portray disparity of outcomes for ethnic minority and white clients (Smith, 2003)[14].

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000) (which will be detailed in Chapter Four) has an impact on the delivery of the New Deal as it is administered by a public body. Since the launch of the New Deal, all public authorities have a public duty to promote equality (Public Service Agreements, PSAs). The two departments of the Department for Work and Pension and the Department for Trade and Industry have joint responsibility for their PSA:

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[13] An evaluation of the pilots is being conducted by the Policy Studies Institute. The research project will end July 2004.

[14] Andrew Smith, Secretary of State for Work and Pensions at the BTEG National Policy Symposium called 'Work for ME' (minority ethnic employment) on the 25th March 2003.

> The differential is worrying and makes it more difficult for the Department of Trade and Industry to meet the shared Public Service Agreement (PSA) target to narrow the gap between employment rates of people from ethnic minority groups and the overall rate.
>
> Cabinet Office (2003:87)

However, this does mean that the DWP and the Department of Trade and Industry have a shared responsibility, and therefore, a greater incentive to eliminate the disparity.

3.2.2 Evidence

> A wealth of data on New Deal participants from ethnic minorities has enabled better monitoring of ethnic minority performance than other programmes.
>
> Moody (2000:77)

A number of sources of information are drawn upon to gain a comprehensive picture of the New Deal and ethnic minority performance. There are both qualitative and quantitative information sources available, on both a national or local level. There are national statistics on the performance of NDYP and ND25+ in the form of the *Statistical First Releases* which are issued by the DWP every three months (previously monthly). Analytical research has been carried out on national-level data, examples of which are Owen et al. (2000) and Moody (2000), who carried out analyses on the New Deal Evaluation data, whereas O'Connor et al. (2001) is a national qualitative study. Research carried out on a local level include those in areas such as Birmingham, London (Southwark), Manchester, Oldham and Sheffield. It should be noted that all these areas have a substantial ethnic minority population. All but one of these pieces of research have been carried out by consultants, therefore, constituting 'grey literature'. It must also be said that a lot of the local work goes unpublished and un-disseminated. There may be others, however, for the purpose of this chapter a full search of the completed research was carried out up until April 2004 (there may be work in progress, for example, research on outreach activities, as already mentioned, by the Policy Studies Institute).

The following sections look at the evidence of the performance of NDYP and ND25+ with reference to ethnic minority groups. Participation will be looked at

in relation to the level of unemployment, option choices, job outcomes or the jobs gap and issues around referrals and sanctions.

3.2.2.1 Participation on the NDYP and ND25+

> ... the recent trend in unemployment should give rise to ethnic minorities being well represented on New Deal programmes.
>
> Ogbonna and Noon (1999: 171-2)

There have been a total of 109,400 ethnic minority starts from the beginning of NDYP to January 2002 (*Statistical First Release*, 2002a) or 14.5% of the total participants. It should also be noted that 4.5% of the total clients chose the 'prefer not to say' option, which could augment the ethnic minority figures. Of the total of ethnic minority participants two-thirds were male and the remaining one-third female, thereby ethnic minority females represent a higher proportion of females than on the NDYP as a whole (22%). The largest ethnic minority group on the NDYP for the same time period was the Pakistani group (23% of all ethnic minority participants), followed by Black Caribbean participants (19%). The smallest group was the Chinese, barely representing 1.4% of the total ethnic minority clients, followed by Bangladeshis (7.4%).

The percentage of ethnic minority entrants on the ND25+ has increased from approximately 10% when it began, to approximately 14% by the end of 2001. Again, as for NDYP, there was a small percentage of those for whom ethnicity was not recorded. The two largest ethnic minority groups on ND25+ were Black Caribbean and Mixed/Other backgrounds, both making up 27% of all ethnic minorities on the programme. In this instance, Pakistanis only accounted for just over 10% of all ethnic minority participants (Wilkinson, 2003).

Therefore the NDYP marginally had the greatest proportion of ethnic minority starts. That said, Table 2.5 in Chapter Two showed male ethnic minority unemployment for 16- to 24-year-olds to be more than one-and-a-half times higher than that of white male unemployment, correspondingly, female ethnic

minority unemployment (16-24) was two-and-a-half times higher than white females. More specifically, Owen et al. (2000) give unemployment figures of 11% for white 18- to 24-year-olds and 24% for ethnic minorities of the same age (2000:91), and shows that the population of ethnic minorities account for about 9.1% (16-24). Based on these figures, therefore, it would be expected that a higher percentage of the total NDYP participants should be from ethnic minority groups.

Despite higher unemployment among ethnic minority groups, in an early article discussing the New Deal and ethnic minorities, Ogbonna and Noon (1999) said that participation should not be taken for granted due to the negative history of the performance of government programmes as shown in the previous sections. As already mentioned, more recently it has been found that there is "... a significant proportion of people from ethnic minority communities who are not participating in the New Deal" (Cabinet Office, 2000:133). Two broad categories of active avoidance of the NDYP have been put forward. These are employment and non-attendance (Fieldhouse et al., 2002b). On the one hand, there were those who would get a job to avoid attending the NDYP, this included taking a job they would not normally take, often poorly paid or informal work. On the other hand, there were those who did not take part because of external factors, such as looking after the home or family and travelling abroad.

Those individuals who do not want to participate on New Deal will disappear from the register and may become disengaged. Also, it was mentioned by a member of Jobcentre Plus Staff at the 'Work for ME' (ME denotes Minority Ethnic) conference organised by BTEG in March 2003, that some ethnic minorities do not even sign on, therefore they do not appear on the unemployment register in the first instance. Andrew Smith, the Minister for Work and Pensions at the time, responded to this and said that if they wanted help/support they must be on Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) [15]. His response is

[15] Andrew Smith, Secretary of State for Work and Pensions at the BTEG National Policy Symposium called 'Work for ME' (minority ethnic employment) on the 25th March 2003.

naïve as there are barriers to employment and training that are faced by ethnic minority groups (as discussed in Chapter Two and the first section of this chapter) and furthermore, the New Deal or similar programmes may lead to the 'benefits trap' or, they simply may not know of the existence of JSA and how the benefits system or regime works in general. Therefore, non-participation may simply be due to a lack of knowledge of the New Deal as a programme. In particular, research in Oldham on NDYP found that the majority of those interviewed were not aware of the NDYP before starting the Gateway (Fieldhouse et al., 2002b). Research in Manchester also found that very few participants on the NDYP had prior knowledge of it before becoming unemployed. To exacerbate the problem further, although literature had been produced in community languages, it was found that this was not available locally. In spite of the lack of information, for some ethnic minorities it is an issue of pride, not to 'sign on' (CESI and BTEG, 2001). As with any such programme there needs to be engagement with all potential clients. This was found to be lacking in some areas, for example in Manchester:

> We found that staff involved in the New Deal lacked a comprehensive knowledge of local community groups who target minority ethnic communities, and a general lack of awareness of the importance of gaining respect for New Deal within the community.
>
> CESI and BTEG (2001:23)

3.2.2.2 Gateway

One of the key variations found by Owen et al.'s (2000) analysis of NDYP data (analysis from Jan 1998 to Jan 2000) was that ethnic minorities were less likely to have moved onto one of the options, with 55% still on the Gateway compared to 49% of white people. The length of the Gateway depends on a number of factors, such as individual needs, advisor orientation, policies and provision in the local area. This can lead to short as well as overstays on the Gateway. There have been cases of 'overstayers' found in Hackney where suitable placements could not be found, which sometimes led to participants having to take options they did not want (O'Connor et al., 2001:68). It has also been found that ethnic minorities on the NDYP are more likely to leave New Deal

before taking an option (Moody, 2000) and in particular, a higher proportion of ethnic minorities left the Gateway for an unknown destination than of the white group (24% of all leavers compared to 15% respectively in Owen et al.'s analysis, 2000). To corroborate this finding, similar results were also found in another study (O'Connor et al., 2001:72).

As shown earlier in this chapter, there has been evidence of channelling and stereotyping in the delivery of previous programmes. However, research on the NDYP in Oldham, which looked specifically at the perspectives of mainly Pakistani, Bangladeshi and African/Caribbean/mixed backgrounds, "There was little indication of bias or prejudice in the information being given by the advisers and no signs of racial discrimination" (Fieldhouse et al., 2002a:505). On the other hand, in Sheffield it was found that front-line staff were under-resourced in addition to experiencing a high turnover of staff. What is more, they were also generally lacking NVQ Level 3 in guidance and equal opportunities awareness (Martin Yarnit Associates, 2000). On the positive side, no variations were found between the white group and ethnic minorities in the level of participation at this stage of the ND25+ programme (Wilkinson, 2003).

3.2.2.3 Options

Table 3.2: Ethnic minority breakdown of those participating in NDYP at end of Jan 2002 and the options they were on

	All Options	Subsidised Employment	(%)	Education and Training	(%)	Voluntary Sector	(%)	Environmental Task Force	(%)
White	16,100	2700	16.8	6000	37.3	3600	22.4	3800	23.6
Ethnic minorities	2,800	300	10.7	1600	57.1	700	25	200	7.1
All	19,700	3,100	15.7	7,900	40.1	4,500	22.8	4,100	20.8

Statistical Release (2002a)

The figures in Table 3.2 for the NDYP option choices above show that ethnic minorities are under-represented on the subsidised employment option

(*Statistical Release*, 2002a). This is alarming, as subsidised employment has proved to be more successful at helping young people into work (Cabinet Office, 2000; TUC, 2002). The table also shows that ethnic minorities are over-represented on the Full-time Education and Training (FTET) option, despite them entering with higher qualifications than the white participants (Moody, 2000; O'Connor et al., 2001). On the one hand, qualitative research has found that some ethnic minority individuals wanted the FTET option and the following reasons were given as to why:

- to obtain basic skills, particularly maths and English
- to acquire qualifications where none had been obtained before
- to acquire vocational training and / or qualifications for a designated career route
- to acquire higher qualifications than previously obtained
- to continue a programme of training or education on which they had already embarked

O'Connor et al. (2001:69)

On the other hand, the same research found that others who were on the option said they only took the FTET option because the subsidised employment option was not available. Ogbonna and Noon (1999) predicted that the most 'attractive' of the options would be subsidised employment, this has proved to be the case (Millar, 2000), however, a higher proportion of ethnic minorities are on other options (as already shown in this chapter), despite them having a higher referral rate to subsidised jobs. It was found that for ethnic minority young people, the Voluntary Section (VS) option was not usually their first choice, instead they wanted subsidised employment or FTET (O'Connor et al., 2001). This was also found in the Fieldhouse et al. (2002a) study:

> While there is no formal hierarchy in the allocation of these options, it is clear from our interviews and other research that the subsidised employment placement is the more preferred and for many the main motivation for active participation in the NDYP.
>
> (2002:500)

Similarly, research based on a London borough (Southwark) found that although there was no evidence of coercion, clients felt pressurised to take any job or an option that may be inappropriate (Camelot, 2000). Ethnic minorities were also over-represented on the VS option and they were under-represented on the Environmental Task Force (ETF) option.

As in the labour market more generally, ethnic diversity was also found among the different ethnic minority groups with respect to their experience of the New Deal. Moody (2000) found that the Black African group was the most likely group to enter FTET, 70% compared to 52% Bangladeshi and 43% white. As for the subsidised employment option, the ethnic minority group most likely to be on this was the Indian group (17%), although this was still lower than the white group (20%). Only a mere 7% of Black Africans were found to be on this option.

In one of the studies it was found that there was a loss of contact with the NDYP when the option started, which contradicts the continuous support that is said to be offered by the New Deal (Fieldhouse et al., 2002b).

As for the ND25+ there was little variation among the different options that white and ethnic minority participants were on (see Table 3.3 below). The only significant difference was that only 11% of ethnic minority participants went into subsidised employment compared to over one-quarter of white participants. There were also slightly more ethnic minorities than white participants on the Intensive Activity Period (IAP) and Basic Employability Training (BET) (Wilkinson, 2003).

Table 3.3: Percentage entering IAP or Gateway opportunities on ND25+ (since June 1998)

	All	White	Ethnic Minority
Subsidised employment	24	26	11
Work experience placement	13	13	13
FTET	10	10	12
IAP training	16	15	20
Work-Based Learning for Adults (WBLA)	26	26	27
Basic Employability Training/Basic Skills	8	7	15
Other opportunity	3	4	2

Wilkinson (2003:4)

Like the NDYP, there were variations among the ethnic minority groups in terms of the different options. For example, Indians were the most likely to enter

subsidised employment, followed by Bangladeshis (19% and 16% respectively), compared to only 6% of Black Africans. However, there was much less variation for the work experience placement option, though fewer Bangladeshis and Pakistanis were on this. Comparatively, 31% Bangladeshis and 24% Pakistanis undertook BET or basic skills courses, compared to only 13% of Indians and 7% of Black Carribeans. Indians and Pakistanis were less likely to enter FTET (8%), compared to other groups (11% to 15%) (Wilkinson, 2003).

3.2.2.4 Job Outcomes/'Jobs gap'

Since the introduction of the NDYP it has helped 351,340 young people into jobs of which 41,440 have been ethnic minorities (to the end of January 2002). As for the Enhanced ND25+, from April 2001 to January 2002 it has helped 21,700 into jobs, of which 2,200 were ethnic minorities.[16]

A TUC (2003) briefing document described the NDYP as a successful active labour market programme in the reduction of long-term youth unemployment and an increase/addition to national income, but criticised it in terms of equality of outcome:

> Most of the programmes have equal opportunities problems, and the most acute is NDYP's failure to produce equal results for black and ethnic minority young people, with a 20% delivery gap.
>
> TUC (2003)

National figures (GB) for NDYP over almost three years show the following disparity in ethnic minority job outcomes:

[16] These figures are for both sustained and unsustained employment, and for subsidised and unsubsidised.

Table 3.4: Ethnic minority disparity of job outcome (national figures) for NDYP

Date	Ratio of Ethnic Minority to White Job Outcomes	'Jobs Gap' (%)
April 2000 - March 2001	0.78	22
April 2001 - March 2002	0.74	26
Jan 2002 - Dec 2002	0.74	26

Compiled with data from:
www.cesi.org.uk/post16/

Table 3.4 above, shows the ratio of ethnic minority New Deal leavers to white New Deal leavers who entered jobs for three different time periods for NDYP. This ratio has increased over the time period, though only by 0.04; this translates to an increase of 4% in the 'jobs gap' over the three-year time period (April 2000 to Dec 2002). This should be expected to decrease as time goes by as currently it is the fifth year of New Deal and different strategies and initiatives have been put in place, as described earlier in this chapter. Therefore overall, there is a 26% jobs gap on the NDYP between ethnic minority and white job outcomes, leaving the objective of parity of outcome ill-met.

Moody's (2000) analysis also found ethnic minorities less likely to leave the New Deal for known jobs. Although his findings were based on data for a year-and-a-half (from the start of NDYP to October 1999), his calculations of the ratio of ethnic minority to white known rates of going into a job, more commonly known as a 'job outcome', was 81%. However, he attributes the difference largely to incomplete destination data for ethnic minority leavers and the performance variation between the different units of delivery. He estimates that, "in reality ethnic minority participants achieve 97% of the job outcomes of white participants in their delivery area" (2000:77).

Moody (2000) also found diversity among the ethnic groups for job outcomes. He found that Indian, Bangladeshi and the Chinese were the closest to achieving parity of outcome than other groups; the least likely ethnic minority groups were Black African, followed by Black Caribbean and Pakistani. On the

whole this pattern largely reflects the labour market position of ethnic minorities, except for the Bangladeshi group outcomes.

It was also found that in terms of employment history, the barriers to employment were similar for ethnic minorities to other NDYP clients, such as lack of qualifications, lack of work experience, and lack of transport. However, one notable exception was racial discrimination. In particular, employer discrimination was found to exist in the experience of ethnic minorities on the New Deal (O'Connor et al., 2001); and far worse, job centre staff did not know how to deal with it. Although no evidence of direct discrimination was found by the Oldham study in Greater Manchester, young people did think there was racism in the labour market generally (Fieldhouse et al., 2002a). Another piece of research did, however, find evidence of direct racism whilst young people were on the options and overall the conclusion was drawn that it was not certain if NDYP is sufficient to overcome barriers to equality in the labour market (CESI and BTEG, 2001).

In particular, the NDYP may not be suitable for all those who are unemployed in this age group. Fieldhouse et al. (2002b) found that over half of the people in their sample that went on to full-time employment had degrees, and they were least satisfied with the process as it was not geared to the type of employment they wanted. They were all found to be looking for more suitable jobs even after securing employment.

As for the job outcomes on the ND25+ programme, about the same percentage of white and ethnic minority leavers went into unsubsidised employment. However, ethnic minorities were slightly less likely to enter some form of employment: 22% entered employment compared to 25% of white participants. Wilkinson (2003) attributes this difference to subsidised employment, shown earlier in this chapter.

Comparative figures to the those in Table 3.4 for ND25+ show that the ratio of ethnic minority job outcomes to that of the white population is 0.85 for the period

between January 2002 to December 2002 (99% significant) (www.cesi.org.uk). Therefore, a 15% jobs gap exists on this programme (the figures have been consistent around this point, for example between the period December 2001 and November 2002 it was 0.86). Although this is much lower than that of the difference on the NDYP, it is still a position of disparity.

3.2.2.5 Referrals

In a speech Teresa Jowell (2000) said that ethnic minorities were doing better through the New Deal, as opposed to in the labour market; however, she also admitted that:

> ... they are still not doing as well as their white counterparts – young minority ethnic people are referred for more interviews than their white counterparts before they are successful in finding work...
>
> Jowell (2000b)

A referral describes when a jobseeker is sent to a job interview in light of achieving subsidised or unsubsidised employment. There is evidence that ethnic minorities on average take more referrals to employers to move them into employment (O'Connor et al., 2001:72).

3.2.2.6 Sanctions

Concern around sanctions had been expressed at the early stages of the New Deal. A regional seminar report co-ordinated by BTEG found that:

> A constant issue raised by delegates was the 'sanctions' element of the New Deal. Delegates believed that ES may be over-eager in applying this to black participants. There is a real danger that those young black people that do require additional support, but for whatever reason fail to receive it, consider themselves ill-equipped to take up one of the options and may suffer benefit sanctions through no fault of their own.
>
> BTEG (1998:4)

On the contrary, it was been found that ethnic minority participants are less likely to experience sanctions than white participants (Moody, 2000). Confuting this, sanctions were, however, found to be playing a different role – they were

found to push some young ethnic minority people into choosing the FTET option (Fieldhouse et al., 2002b).

3.2.2.7 Other Findings/Comments

The range of exit destinations from the New Deal are unsubsidised employment, transfer to other benefits, 'other', unknown and return to JSA. Return to JSA was the most common exit for all the ethnic minority groups on ND25+ (50% white, 46% ethnic minorities). Of all the ethnic minority groups it was most common for Black Caribbean (40%) ND25+ leavers and least common for Bangladeshis (22%) to enter unsubsidised employment (Wilkinson, 2003). As a result of those returning to JSA, there is also the issue of a number of individuals who are repeating the New Deal programmes after completion, some have participated three times; in some areas the Step Up programme has been put in place to try and help such participants.

In assessing the potential/achievements of the New Deal with respect to ethnic minorities and improving their labour market prospects, Ogbonna and Noon (1999) predicted that the institutional framework was ill-equipped to cater for the needs of ethnic minorities:

> ... the intention to help ethnic minorities has not been matched with changes to the institutional framework for the delivery of training and work experience placements. (1999:165)

Ogbonna and Noon's prediction is in line with the experience or the reality of other previous GST as presented earlier in this chapter. Despite the pledges and promises of consultation with ethnic minority communities, in actual fact ethnic minority organisations were not consulted and therefore, were not involved in the design of the New Deal (BTEG, 1998). They were later consulted on the Ethnic Minority Strategy; however, this was too late as the programmes were already set up. Evidence of similar conduct is shown earlier in this chapter by the TECs and their equal opportunity plans (Boddy, 1995),

whereby they were found to be an add-on and thereby much harder to inculcate into the culture of the organisation.

Some other issues are put forward by Ogbonna and Noon (1999) in relation to the existing arrangements of the New Deal which contribute to the overall problem for ethnic minority groups. A high proportion of institutions replicate patterns of disadvantage, characteristic of previous schemes, such as the under-representation of ethnic minorities on employment-related options. This has proved to be so. Also, employer discrimination is prevalent as in previous programmes. Furthermore, with the New Deal being a supply-led solution, it does little to counteract any problems with the demand for labour.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed the experiences of ethnic minorities on GST and showed evidence of both current and previous mainstream GST programmes producing inequalities for ethnic minority participants. A key issue for ethnic minorities is that they are under-represented on such programmes. However, as some groups in particular experience 'severe' disadvantage in the labour market, as shown in Chapter Two, mainstream GST programmes should therefore be addressing their needs and reducing the disadvantage experienced. Those who do enter such programmes experience under-representation on the more prestigious elements such as the employment-related options or in certain occupational sectors of training and a lower proportion of ethnic minorities achieve qualifications and job outcomes as a result of such programmes compared to white participants.

In some respects the experience of ethnic minorities on GST reflects their experience in the labour market more generally. There are barriers to entry on training programmes as there are barriers to employment; there is an under-representation in the more prestigious elements of training analogous to the under-representation of ethnic minorities employed as managers in large

establishments; similarly, there is an over-representation on other less desired options mirroring the crowding of some ethnic minorities in low-skilled jobs in employment more broadly. Therefore instead of the training programme assisting in reducing the disadvantage of ethnic minorities in the labour market, the programmes seem to be perpetuating the situation.

Despite the tendency of some groups to go onto full-time education due to their good GCSE results, this is not so for all the ethnic minority groups. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that there are barriers in the way of ethnic minorities entering training programmes, which result in their under-representation mentioned above; these affect both the demand and the supply of ethnic minorities on such programmes and they are in the form of structural and socio-economic barriers. The structural barriers include a lack of knowledge of the programmes, particularly with regard to the high-quality vocational training, discrimination from employers, policies being formulated with a colour-blind approach and operational issues. The socio-economic barriers include the lack of access for ethnic minorities due to the geographical location in which they live and negative attitudes towards GST. The under-achievement of ethnic minorities in job outcomes and qualifications are not as well researched as the barriers to training, but reasons include the lack of appropriate support and discrimination.

This chapter documents that there has been a history of such issues. It is, however, difficult to say whether there have been any improvements over time for ethnic minorities on GST. Both adult and youth programmes have changed and evolved over time and it is difficult to make comparisons of their outcome figures, as although the programmes' aims may be ostensibly the same, the programmes are structurally different. Comparisons with white participants on the same programme are, however made, which in itself is not perfect as the research does not control for variables such as human capital such as the research evidence presented in Chapter Two, but show there is sufficient evidence to suggest that there are still differences in terms of ethnic minorities

generally being under-represented on the programmes and experiencing lower qualifications and job outcomes as a result of the programmes.

There was some optimism at the time of the launch of the New Deal for the Unemployed family of policies as they were the first mainstream government programmes to consider ethnic minorities in their policy formation. The government made a pledge that there would be parity of outcomes between white and ethnic minority participants and a number of measures were put in place in order to try and achieve this, such as early entry for those with English as a second language and English language training. That is not to say that previous policies did not take any equality measures. Equal opportunity policies were in place, for example in the programmes delivered by the TECs. However, there is evidence to suggest these were solely paper policies and add-ons after the policy measures were in place. Funding arrangements were so that the most disadvantaged clients were not taken on. Previously there was also some support in the form of language courses (English for Speakers of Other Languages , ESOL).

However, despite the government pledges of parity of outcome between white and ethnic minority participants on the New Deal along with the measures taken, there is still a disparity of outcomes employment on both the compulsory programmes, the NDYP and the ND25+. After almost five years of delivery, there is still much evidence of differential outcomes for ethnic minority participants vis-à-vis white participants. Parity of outcomes for ethnic minorities has not been achieved and further discrepancies can be seen in the participation of ethnic minorities, the options they are on, the job outcomes as a result of having completed the programme and the number of referrals and sanctions that are made. Moreover, as with their experience in the labour market as shown in Chapter Two, their experience of the New Deal is not homogenous among the different ethnic minority groups (Moody, 2000:77). Like other programmes there is also an under-representation of ethnic minorities on these programmes compared to the level of unemployment experienced by these groups, they are under-represented on the employer-related options and

over-represented on the further education and training option and voluntary option. Therefore, concluding that GST programmes are not meeting the needs of ethnic minority participants. On the positive side there is evidence to suggest that area-based policies are being effective, such as EZs, which take much more targeted approaches (however, this is not discussed in any great detail as this is not a mainstream initiative).

There is some evidence, however, to suggest that some programmes have aspects that are effective. The aspects that are the most effective are those with employer involvement or those that are work-based. Other options such as those in the VS or the ETF are less effective in job outcomes. Other useful aspects are support, in particular the support from New Deal Personal Advisors has been found to be particularly effective by New Deal participants (Millar, 2000). The structure of the programme can affect ethnic minorities, such as the funding arrangements, as output-related funding has been proved to disadvantage ethnic minorities in previous programmes.

On the basis of the evidence in this chapter policy makers must consider ethnic minorities when designing mainstream programmes. A study commissioned by the government made the following suggestion:

> Changes are needed to the way that programmes are delivered. Modern public services need to be able to deliver a high-quality service to a diverse client base. That means making efforts to understand the needs of different groups and adjusting the way in which services are delivered.
>
> Cabinet Office (2003:87)

In light of the evidence presented in this chapter policy makers should most certainly cater for the diverse needs of programme participants. In particular, the previous chapter has shown the huge diversity among ethnic minorities and government policy needs to address this and ensure that the needs are known of and are met accordingly within their policy response. It is most certainly the case that no one set of policies is suitable for all participants, this also applies to the white participants. In terms of ethnic minorities, the key focus of this thesis, Modood et al. (1997) has suggested three sets of policy measures to address

the different levels of disadvantage, such that one set of policies should address the glass ceiling in order to increase the representation of ethnic minorities in the top 10% cent of jobs; another set of policies should address the circumstances of the most disadvantaged, namely the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups; and another set should address the circumstances of Caribbean men, particularly young men.

Mainstream GST programmes should most certainly focus on the most disadvantaged groups and incentives and additional funding should be made available to encourage training providers to take on such groups and provide them with any additional support that may be necessary. It is essential that good-quality training is available and such programmes meet the needs of the different participants, that they have flexibility and address the barriers to entry such as transport issues, childcare and language problems. Programmes with employer involvement are essential as these tend to be most effective in the overall aim of job outcomes after the programme. The overall programme design and structure must be thought through so as not to disadvantage ethnic minorities. There is also a need to address the overall poor image of GST.

The following chapter presents the race relations legislation in Great Britain and in particular describes positive action, which is permitted under the legislation as another measure to combat labour market disadvantage, in this case particularly for ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMBATING LABOUR MARKET DISADVANTAGE: POSITIVE ACTION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

As shown in Chapter Two there is considerable evidence of the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities in the British labour market. This reflects a combination of discrimination and other forms of disadvantage that result in exclusion and inequality. The previous chapter showed measures put in place in the form of government training programmes which fail to meet the needs of ethnic minorities and do little to improve their labour market position. Consequently this chapter explores policy option three which is positive action, quoted in the introduction of Chapter Three and defined in Chapter One. Positive action is a policy measure allowed under the Race Relations Act (1976) and gives access to training and encouragement measures to ethnic minorities and therefore constitutes a 'race'-conscious policy. This chapter focuses on the legislation that has been put in place to combat discrimination and measures such as positive action training, which are permitted in order to combat labour market disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups.

4.1 LEGISLATION: THE RACE RELATIONS ACTS

The first Race Relations Act (RRA) passed in 1965, made discrimination illegal in mainly public places, including hotels and restaurants, but excluded private boarding houses and shops. Incitement to racial hatred also became a criminal offence. However, the means of enforcing the Act were weak. The Race Relations Board, a specialised agency was established to investigate breaches of the legislation and secure compliance. It set up local conciliation committees to investigate complaints, who would ideally settle grievances out of court. Conciliation failings were reported to the Board, who, if it found evidence of

discrimination and that it was likely to continue, referred the case to the Attorney-General (the government's chief lawyer). It was only the Attorney-General who had any direct legal powers and who could seek an injunction requiring the discrimination to cease.

The subsequent Race Relations Act (1968) enlarged the scope of the 1965 legislation and discrimination was made illegal in public and private employment, housing, the provision of goods and services, trade unions and advertising. However, government services and its functions were exempt from the Act, for example police operations were exempt although police employment was covered by the Act. This Act also established another institution parallel to the Race Relations Board, the Community Relations Commission to 'promote harmonious community relations'. Although the 1968 Act was an improvement and overt discrimination was less common, its effectiveness was still limited as it could not deal with wider patterns of discrimination.

It only later came to light that there was a major flaw in the Great Britain's legislative framework that was in place. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary at the time, travelled to the USA to learn from their experience of tackling problems of discrimination through legislation. He was accompanied by a colleague, Anthony Lester, who as a result of this trip realised that he had mis-specified the concept of discrimination in the White Paper he had written (CRE, 2000). As a result the proposed legislation was rewritten to include indirect discrimination. The Race Relations Act (1976) was therefore extended to make both direct and indirect discrimination unlawful and was also a first attempt to eradicate institutional racism:

> The Race Relations Act 1976, which applies to the whole of Great Britain but not to Northern Ireland, makes racial discrimination unlawful in employment, training and related matters, in education, in the provision of goods, facilities and services, and in the disposal and management of premises. The Act gives individuals a right of direct access to the civil courts and industrial tribunals for legal remedies for unlawful discrimination.
>
> Home Office (1977:1)

The RRA (1976) replaced the first two Acts and replaced the Race Relations Board and Community Relations Commission with the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). The duties of the CRE were set to work towards the elimination of discrimination, to promote equality and good relations and also to review the workings of the Act. It has the power to carry out formal investigations.[17]

The RRA (1976) was a result of an amalgamation of the evidence of discrimination (Smith, 1974), the weaknesses of the previous 1968 Act and the recognition that organisations may have a whole range of policies and practices resulting in institutional discrimination. Therefore, as mentioned, both direct and indirect discrimination were covered by this legislation, organisations were encouraged to adopt equal opportunities policies and employers were permitted to take positive action.

Further changes were made such that the RRA (1976) was amended, in the form of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000), which came into force in April 2001. It strengthens and extends the scope of the RRA (1976) but it does not replace it (CRE, 2000). It extends the protection against racial discrimination by public authorities and it places a new enforceable positive duty on public authorities. It includes a general duty to promote 'race' equality as well as specific duties such as ethnic monitoring.

4.1.1 RRA and Employment

The RRA (1976) made it unlawful for employers to discriminate in Great Britain. This included employment under a contract of service, an apprenticeship, a contract to execute any work or labour and included self-employed persons who contract to do work personally. In particular, section 4(1) of the Act relates to discrimination in recruitment; it specifies three ways in which it is unlawful for

[17] The Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) will take over the work of the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), the CRE and the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) as of October 2007.

employers to discriminate in the recruitment process: it covers the treatment of applicants, making it unlawful for an employer to discriminate against an applicant in the recruitment process for deciding upon a candidate (such as instructions to a personnel officer or an employment agency of a particular preference); the terms in which the employment is offered (such as pay or holidays); and it makes it unlawful to refuse or deliberately exclude an application. The Act also includes the treatment of present employees under section 4(2). This makes it unlawful for employers to discriminate by refusing employees access to opportunities of promotion, training, transfer or other benefits and services. It is also unlawful to unfairly dismiss an employee as well as to treat them unfavourably.

There are exceptions to the RRA (1976). These apply to private households, genuine occupational qualifications, employment intended to provide training in skills to be used abroad and seamen recruited abroad.

4.1.2 Positive Action

The CRE (1981) argued that the termination of discrimination alone would not suffice for ethnic minorities to succeed in the labour market:

> Even if discrimination were stopped overnight this would not be sufficient to enable ethnic minorities to compete for jobs from a basis of genuine equality, for they would still suffer from the effects of past discrimination and disadvantage.
>
> CRE (1981:312)

The paper went on to say:

> They are still, for example, heavily under-represented in many areas of employment, particularly in supervisory and managerial positions and comparisons of employees with similar qualifications show that white men are significantly better represented in professional and managerial posts than men from ethnic minority groups.
>
> CRE (1981:312)

The above quote from over two-and-a-half decades ago still holds true, as shown in Chapter Two. The paper went on to advocate positive action. Positive action is a means of combating under-representation of ethnic minorities and is:

> ... a range of activities aimed at countering discrimination and disadvantage.
>
> Boddy (1992:53)

The RRA (1976) makes provisions for both employers and training providers to encourage members of particular racial groups to apply for posts where they have been previously under-represented. It also makes provisions for training, the aim of which is to allow members of under-represented racial groups to compete on equal terms for employment opportunities, whereby selection must be based on merit. Therefore, positive action may be able to increase levels of representation of racial groups at organisational, occupational and industrial levels.

4.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF POSITIVE ACTION

> The aim of positive action is to counteract these effects by enabling members of ethnic minority groups to develop their potential and 'catch up' with the experience of white applicants and employees. This does not involve the imposition of quotas or permit discrimination in selection.
>
> CRE (1981:312)

Essentially, positive action seeks to remove educational and other forms of disadvantage that prevents individuals from ethnic minority groups competing on an equal basis in the labour market. It is also a means of helping to ensure that ethnic minorities are properly represented in more skilled or senior positions in proportion to their presence in the labour market. The RRA (1976) allows for positive action by training bodies, employers, trade unions and employers' organisations. This applies when:

> ... at any time within the previous 12 months there were no members of a particular racial group engaged in particular work in Great Britain, or that the proportion of persons of that racial group among those engaged in such work was small in comparison with the proportion of persons of that group in the population of Great Britain.
>
> Home Office (1977:30)

Under-representation is a key prerequisite of any positive action measures under the UK legislation. Under-representation is described more clearly by Taylor:

- there are no persons of that racial group employed in that work by the organization
- that the number of employees engaged in that work who belong to that racial group is small in proportion to:

    (a) their representation as a percentage of the Great Britain workforce;
    (b) their representation amongst the population of the area from which the organization normally recruits either locally or nationally.

Taylor (2000:160)

Positive action is an attempt to counter the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities through various measures, helping them to reach the 'starting line' and creating a 'level playing field', enabling them to compete effectively in the labour market with other applicants.

4.3 RATIONALE FOR POSITIVE ACTION

Three broad reasons have been identified for undertaking positive action. These are a commitment to equality, business benefits and legal obligations (Taylor, 2000). Some organisations undertake positive action because they are committed to equality and seek to remove discrimination and positive action often seeks to address past inequalities. Positive action can also bring benefits for business, sometimes referred to as the 'business case', in that it can lead to an improved market and image. It is an opportunity to enter ethnic community markets, increase profitability and achieve contract compliance in order to gain contracts with public authorities. This is particularly so as the UK is a multi-ethnic society and ethnic minorities constitute an increasing proportion of the working population. It can aid in attracting a wider pool of applicants, accessing a greater range of skills. Although the legal obligations are considered weak in the UK, some organisations may adopt positive action activities to overcome inequalities in order to prevent legal cases against them. It has been found that a mixture of the moral and business case has been effective (Iganski et al., 2001).

4.4 CONTEXT FOR POSITIVE ACTION

According to Taylor (2000), for positive action to be successful it needs to be supported by an organisational framework that is committed to equality for its existing employees and any potential employees. He puts forward three elements to this framework: an effective equal opportunities policy, an analysis of the workforce, and an analysis of the organisation.

An increasing number of employers in the UK have equal opportunities policies; however, these vary from very detailed policies to simple statements. The strength of the wording, support of the policy and how it is put into practice will determine the effectiveness of the policy.

An initial analysis of the workforce is necessary in order to provide a baseline to assess whether under-representation exists and the extent of it. This is often what prevents positive action from being taken by organisations (Taylor, 2000). Issues around lack of data may be present, both in terms of the local population and internally for some organisations as they may not keep records on the ethnic make-up of their employees. This is a particular problem in the private sector, for which evidence has been presented in Chapter Two.

At the organisational level, the effectiveness of positive action can be hindered by the lack of understanding about positive action. The support of such measures reduces any potential backlash or resistance, hence the success of such policies relies on them being integral to the workings of an organisation. An analysis of the personnel procedures of an organisation may be required, such as looking at the recruitment and advertising processes in order to identify potential barriers to entry and/or promotion. The Race Relations Employment Advisory Service (RREAS) advocates the importance of everyone in the organisation knowing about any positive action measures planned and understanding the reasons behind them. In particular, it documents that

successful schemes have the commitment of Directors and senior management, who authorise the decision to take action, line management, who are responsible for communicating information about opportunities to all employees, and employees, who should understand what positive action is and why it is needed. A well-planned communications strategy about positive action will avoid any problems of confusion around positive action and positive discrimination, which otherwise may upset industrial and race relations (RREAS, nd).

4.5 TYPES OF POSITIVE ACTION

Positive action provides opportunities for members from ethnic minorities to develop their potential through four main measures. These are: encouragement measures, pre-entry training, in-service training, and 'special needs'. The first type, encouragement measures can be used in order to encourage members of a particular racial group to take advantage of opportunities for employment where they are under-represented. This could, for example, be in the form of a statement in job advertisements welcoming applications from individuals belonging to a specific under-represented racial group. The second type, pre-entry training is lawful under section 37 of the RRA (1976). It can be offered where members of a particular racial group have been under-represented over the previous 12 months in a particular type of work; employers and specified training bodies are able to provide access to facilities for training in order to gain the skills required to carry out such a job. Trainees do not have employee status and are not guaranteed a job at the end of the training. The third type is for those in employment; section 38 of the RRA (1976) allows employers to provide training for persons currently under their employment or on their behalf by a training body. The fourth type addresses the special needs of persons of a particular racial group; these can be met with regard to their education, training or welfare or any ancillary benefits under section 35 of the RRA (1976). This can be exemplified by the provision of English language courses for speakers of other languages.

The relevant sections of the Act with regard to positive action will now be discussed in more detail.

Section 37 of the Race Relations Act (1976) applies to individuals not employed by training bodies (including both public and private employers) and allows these bodies to carry out training for members of ethnic minorities who are under-represented in particular occupations. The training body can provide skills training, work experience or pre-recruitment training.

Section 38 of the Act also provides for positive action, however, it applies to the employer's existing workforce. It allows employers to carry out training for members of ethnic minority employees who are under-represented in relation to the particular work in question and hence could be called in-service training. This section allows for encouragement by the employer in order for the employee to take advantage of the opportunities for work or training and again this is where ethnic minorities are under-represented, as defined above. An example of training under this section could be training in supervision skills or a management development programme.

> There is also an exception which applies where at any time within the previous 12 months there were no persons of a particular racial group doing particular work at a particular establishment, or the proportion of personnel of that racial group among those doing that work in that establishment was small in comparison with the proportion of that group among either:
>
> - all those employed at the establishment; or
> - the population of the area from which the employer normally recruits for work at the establishment.
>
> In these circumstances it is lawful for an employer to provide access to facilities for training for that work to his employees of the racial group in question only, and he may also lawfully take steps to encourage members of that racial group to take advantage of opportunities for doing that work. The exception does not, however, make it lawful for the employer to discriminate at the point of selection for such work.
>
> Home Office (1977:31)

There are also two other important sections. *Section 35* refers to 'special needs', which allows for access to meet the needs of ethnic minorities with regard to education, training or welfare. An example here is language training.

It is important to point out the fact that the RRA (1976) does not allow ethnic minorities to be recruited because of their ethnic origin and that selection is made quite strictly upon merit. There is, however, an exception where it is felt that only an ethnic minority member could undertake such a job. Provision is made for this under *section 5* of the Act, which refers to 'genuine occupational qualification' (GOQ). This is quite important as it allows for the employment or necessary training where it is needed for the occupation. An example here is the employment of an ethnic minority social worker who has the ability to speak a language common to one of the ethnic minorities as otherwise language may act as a barrier in the service provision to elderly minorities who cannot speak English. Section 5(2)(d) is detailed as:

> Section 5(2)(d) provides for individuals to be selected for a job on racial grounds where they will provide those of their racial group with
>
> ... personal services promoting their welfare, and those services can most effectively be provided by a person of that racial group.
>
> This section can only be used for vacancies where the employer does not already have employees of the racial group in question
>
> ... capable of carrying out the relevant duties, whom it is reasonable to employ for those duties, and whose numbers are sufficient to meet the relevant requirements without undue inconvenience.
>
> This section can be used where some of the duties of the job are to provide those 'personal services' as well as where all of them do. In most organisations, very few, if any, posts will be of this type.
>
> In any case, it is important not to confuse such specialist posts with positive action to tackle under representation. Where such posts are appropriate, it is important to avoid segregating 'ethnic minority jobs' from mainstream posts and departments. Individuals employed under section (5)(2) should not be restricted from moving through the organisation in a normal career progression.
>
> CRE (1985:21-22)

4.5.1 Positive action and positive discrimination

Having discussed positive action and the relevant sections of the RRA, it is important to understand what positive action does not include. In particular, positive action needs to be distinguished from positive discrimination, though they are often confused (Jewson et al., 1990; Welsh et al., 1994; Moore, 1997;

Taylor, 2000; Bowes et al., 2001; Iganski et al., 2001). This distinction is made by Blakemore (1998:26): "Positive action refers to policies which stop short of positive discrimination". Need remains the basic criterion for positive action, whereby with positive discrimination certain groups are favoured. Positive discrimination is used interchangeably with reverse discrimination but importantly:

> The Act does not permit 'reverse discrimination': for example, it is unlawful to discriminate in favour of a person of a particular racial group in recruitment or promotion on the grounds that members of that group have in the past suffered from adverse discrimination and should be given the chance to 'catch up'.
>
> Home Office (1977:30)

The term 'reverse discrimination' has also been used as an antagonistic alternative in the USA for affirmative action by Nathan Glazer, a critic of affirmative action (Skrentny, 1996). There is also confusion with the practice of affirmative action in the USA. As will be shown, the lack of clarity in the definition of affirmative action contributes to the misconception and confusion around this policy measure.

Like anything under scrutiny, the conceptual framework and context should be clearly laid out. Jones, J.E., Jr. (1993) criticises those engaged in the affirmative action (AA) debate for not explaining their concept of it, therefore in his view, making it a difficult issue to address. However, defining AA is not easy (Holzer and Neumark, 1999), particularly as "Scholars and policy analysts do not always agree on how it should be defined" (Loury, 1996:49). The definitions that are provided range from:

> Action favoring those who often suffer or have previously suffered from discrimination.
>
> Oxford Dictionary (1996), American Edition

to a more detailed definition, as presented below:

> ... policies used in the United States to increase opportunities for minorities by favoring them in hiring and promotion, college admissions, and the awarding of government contracts. Depending upon the situation, 'minorities' might include any underrepresented group, especially one defined by race, ethnicity, or gender. Generally, affirmative action has been undertaken by governments, businesses, or educational

> institutions to remedy the effects of past discrimination against a group, whether by a specific entity, such as a corporation, or by society as a whole.
>
> Encarta Online Encyclopaedia (2003)

The above definitions make reference to past discrimination. However, Reskin's (1998) much broader definition of AA "refers to policies and procedures designed to combat on-going job discrimination in the workplace" (5). In this respect, Stephanopoulos and Edley (1995:14) coined the term 'modern affirmative action'. Accordingly, a further definition adopted is:

> Public or private actions or programs which provide or seek to provide opportunities or other benefits on the basis of, among other things, their membership in a specified group or groups.
>
> Jones, J.E., Jr. (1988:389)

Skrentny (1996), in his *Ironies of Affirmative Action*, presents AA as a model, paradigm or approach and shows how its meaning has changed to become "race-conscious" rather than colour blind, though both co-exist as civil rights models (see Skrentny, 1996, p 7 for more details). His study recognises the AA model on the basis of the extent to which the following five points are present: employers see group difference in hiring and promotion,' race' is real as opposed to being irrelevant; there is an emphasis on quantifying anonymous minorities, rather than treating everyone as an individual; importance is placed upon discriminatory or racist intent and identifying individuals who are victims of discriminatory practices; less emphasis is placed on the acceptance of previously accepted standards of merit (white/middle class), than emphasis or acceptance; there is a prevailing concern with representation, utilisation or employment of minorities, over stopping acts of discrimination (Skrentny, 1996). As exemplified above and re-iterated here, "It is difficult to provide one all-encompassing definition of affirmative action" (Skrentny, 1998:4). One of the reasons for this is that, not only has the practice and meaning evolved over time (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987; Skrentny, 1996), but also some firms have to follow a particular set of regulations while others do not. For example, in the USA, AA in employment differs for different organisations, such as higher educational institutions and those organisations that are legally mandated to

contract set-aside (Skrentny, 1998; Holzer and Neumark, 1999). Therefore AA might be better described as a:

> ... perplexing set of policies and practices rather than a single, synchronous policy that involves the same procedures for all employers.
>
> Reskin (1998:5)

This is not to say that defining AA is arbitrary, however, what is more important, as Loury (1996) goes on to say, is:

> But whatever the definition, the context within which affirmative action policies arise is one of inequality in economic standing between groups of Americans defined by race, ethnicity or gender.
>
> Loury (1996:49)

One of the problems faced in implementing positive action in the British context is the confusion between positive discrimination and positive action. Research commissioned by the Department of Employment based on six major British companies, found that in one of the largest retail companies of its kind in the UK, the two terms were misinterpreted and were being misused (Jewson et al., 1990). It was shown that senior personnel officers who were interviewed used the terms interchangeably and to mean the same thing. This was all the more significant given that they employed 5,500 people in a number of different locations, with an estimated 20-25% of the London workforce and 5-7% of the Midlands' workforce being ethnic minorities. The majority of respondents believed positive action implied the selection of ethnic minorities on the basis of their minority status, therefore discriminatory against white people. Although the London site had in fact engaged in positive action on a number of occasions, when asked, the respondents said that they had not and would not treat any person differently. The organisation had engaged in positive action in that it had advertised positions in ethnic minority press, although it was a once-only exercise practised upon request from the CRE; it also approached ethnic minority community centres and schools with high proportions of ethnic minority children to inform them of the company YTS (as was then).

There are other examples of confusion around the terminology. Lord Scarman (Scarman, 1981a) used the term positive discrimination, however, Jenkins and Solomos (1987) referred to the practices Scarman wrote about as positive action. Moreover, as already highlighted above, the American terminology of affirmative action blurs the distinction of the two terms. Prashar (1983) has noted that such confusion is widespread and represents a serious source of policy confusion.

Before the distinction is made, the aim of positive action will be briefly reiterated. Positive action aims to increase the number of people who are part of the disadvantaged population, who are then able to benefit from formal procedures. It relies on the assumption that successful implementation will have the desired result of eradicating differential patterns of distribution. Distribution will, however, depend on the ability and aspirations of individuals. Positive discrimination, on the other hand, involves deliberate targeting of selection procedures and standards so as to ensure proportionate levels of the disadvantaged group in particular occupations and to ensure that they receive the remuneration that any other like person would, discounting any discrimination in terms of ethnicity. In this case, unlike positive action, where selection is made on individual merit, there is a commitment to minimum standards and individuals are selected on the basis of their group membership as opposed to being the best qualified.

Positive discrimination is collectivist in conception, but individualistic in action as it involves discrimination in a positive light at the point of selection. However, this is unlawful under the RRA (1976). The two terms are often confused due to the principles of individualism and collectivism being involved in both concepts and the misunderstanding therefore that policy objectives of one can result in the other. Hence the hostility and reason for and misuse of terms. Taking this a step further there is a perception that equal opportunities is a form of positive discrimination, that is, it involves the dismissal of some workers to increase the number of black workers for example. Animosity has hence developed towards

such practices and equal opportunity policies in some cases are negatively viewed.

Examples of positive action

A wide variety of employers, training bodies, community and voluntary sector bodies have been able to set up positive action schemes under the terms of the relevant legislation. Initial schemes focused on housing in particular. These included the Positive Action Training in Housing (PATH) scheme established in Liverpool in 1983 and a further seven PATH schemes which followed in England. In Scotland an initial scheme was set up in 1995, followed by a more permanent scheme in 1998. Some of these organisations have since diversified their training, for example with the setting up of: the Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED) in Bristol, described in more detail in Chapter Five; PATRA based in Nottingham; and PATH National with its head office in London and traineeships around England. Other organisations have also undertaken positive action in different employment sectors such as Birmingham City Council, Bristol City Council and the Museums Association.

4.6 RESEARCH EVIDENCE ON POSITIVE ACTION

Although the Act allowing for the provisions of positive action has been in operation since 1976, little empirical evidence is available to be reviewed (Welsh et al., 1994). This was echoed more recently by Law and Harrison (2001: 37):

> Positive action has been lawful in Britain for over two decades, and there have been numerous initiatives, projects and programmes. Thousands of individuals from black and minority ethnic communities have progressed through positive action programmes, but there has been little thorough evaluation of the social, economic or political impact.

Law and Harrison (2001) argue that the appraisal of positive action has been made more complex since it covers a wide range of forms of action, including a

number of initiatives and enterprises aimed at enhancing the collective representation of racial and ethnic groups.

The few studies that are available mainly focus on positive action in the housing sector. Three studies looked specifically at positive action in housing (Focus Consultancy, 1996; Julienne, 2001; Bowes and Sim, 2002). A study was also commissioned by a government department (Employment Department). This was a more general piece of research looking at why employers/organisations undertook positive action, the forms of positive action that were taken and the outcomes, among other objectives (Welsh et al., 1994). There have also been studies on section 38 of the RRA (1976). One evaluated a programme for staff in further education (Zahno Rao Associates, 2004) and the other a positive action initiative for HM Customs and Excise in Liverpool (Moore, 1997).

Housing provides strong examples of positive action initiatives. In 1996, the then Department of the Environment commissioned Focus Consultancy to assess the impact and cost-effectiveness of PATH. However, only a summary of the findings was published as the final report contained confidential and commercially sensitive information. The research summary showed that under-representation had been reduced in the housing profession; it was found that of the 826 trainees who had gone through the scheme up to 1993/94, 80% had gained full-time employment in the profession and 88% had passed the course they were studying towards (Focus Consultancy, 1996). These findings have been corroborated by another study (Julienne, 2001), though marginally fewer trainees remained in employment after training (71%). This research looked at the effectiveness of PATH schemes in addressing under-representation of ethnic minorities in management, in social housing and the barriers and bridges to career development of the trainees. The research found that half of the survey respondents were unemployed upon joining PATH and most were in unskilled or semi-skilled employment. The factors that were cited as being either very important or important to career development were the PATH scheme (86%), qualifications (64%), ongoing training (60%), family support (60%) and line management support (49%). Barriers to career development

were cited as being racial discrimination or racial stereotyping at work, lack of training, lack of qualifications and lack of childcare. The research also found that the majority of the trainees were placed either within the local authority or housing associations (just under 50% each); only very few were placed with a private company. The study found that 80% of the respondents remained in the same field as they had trained in and similarly a large proportion were working in local authorities or housing associations (and very few in private companies). The study also found that there was a concern that there was an increasing focus on graduates on PATH programmes; 27% had degrees and 6% had a post-graduate qualification. However, there were just as many trainees who had no or GCSE-level qualifications (6% and 27% respectively). That said, the study also found that fewer trainees pre-1991 were graduates compared to post-1995; which the author put down to the increasing number of graduates in the UK and to the fact that the level of unemployment among ethnic minority graduates was twice that of white people with similar qualifications. Overall, the following conclusions were drawn:

> This research confirms that PATH schemes have been very successful at training future black housing managers... Once jobs were obtained after PATH, ex-trainees by and large kept them and appear to have progressed to lower or middle management within the social housing sector.
>
> Julienne (2001:36)

Research in Scotland looked at the issues around the understanding and implementation of positive action in Scottish local authorities and housing associations. The research found there to be limited positive action and a lack of clear knowledge about positive action (Bowes and Sim, 2002). Similar findings were found in research based on the health profession. A study examined the recruitment of ethnic minorities into nursing and midwifery within the National Health Service. In the eight case studies under examination, there was an under-representation of applications as well as an under-representation of those being selected for training from ethnic minorities. Few positive action provisions were found; and those that were in place were inadequately resourced, not part of a systematic strategy to target ethnic minorities and were not informed by the data based on the ethnic minority communities. Moreover,

the arguments for positive action were not understood nor embraced (Iganski et al., 2001). On the positive side, positive action training programmes have been found to lead to an increase in the number of ethnic minorities employed in the media industry. In particular, positive action training programmes have been run by the BBC (Law and Harrison, 2001).

A telephone survey of organisations undertaking positive action produced some key findings that are worth noting (Welsh et al., 1994). It found that most employers taking positive action were large employers, with 90% employing more than 1,000 people and that 88% of employers reported that the decision to introduce positive action was taken at board level or by the Managing Director or Chief Executive (as suggested by RREAS, nd). The reasons for undertaking positive action were numerous. The most common cited reason was to demonstrate a commitment to social justice and make better use of human resources. Other reasons why positive action was carried out were related to the benefit of the business, such as an increased volume of trade with ethnic minority groups, access to contracts where fair employment practices were a condition of tendering, more effective service delivery to all sections of the community and improved staff retention. It also came to light that on a number of occasions there were outside bodies influencing the decisions to introduce positive action, such as the CRE. In terms of the types of positive action that were being used, the research concluded that 82% of employers had implemented measures to encourage more applicants from ethnic minorities and this did actually lead to an increase. Thirty-three per cent of employers were providing positive action for employees (section 38) and 41% were providing pre-employment training (section 37). Only 25% of the employers undertook activities around special needs. Other findings were that employers with numerical targets tended to be more successful in increasing ethnic representation and only a quarter of employers involved in the research reported significant problems in the implementation of positive action. The most common problem was current employees or outside organisations thinking positive action was tantamount to reverse discrimination, as already mentioned in other research findings. In this research it was specified that 30% of the

training bodies were specifically established to provide positive action training (Welsh et al., 1994).

Positive action under section 38 of the RRA (1976) was undertaken in the form of a pilot programme for those in the further education sector. The Black[18] Leadership Initiative (BLI) was a positive action programme intended to support and enhance existing professional development programmes for staff to management posts in the further education sector. A mentoring, secondment and work-shadowing programme was developed and delivered. The initiative was a pilot programme, running for 18 months and funded by the LSC. An evaluation of the BLI showed that the programme exceeded its targets and the design of the programme was highly praised. Although the pilot programme had limited impact, the initiative was to be continued. One of the recommendations of the research was to make the programme available to aspiring managers, not just middle and senior managers, of whom there are a few anyway (Zahno Rao Associates, 2004).

Moore (1997) researched one organisation implementing an equal opportunities and positive action programme in a local labour market. This is one of the few positive action programmes to have been systematically evaluated. His study gives a five-year account of the history of a single civil service department, the VAT headquarters of HM Customs and Excise (now HM Revenue & Customs) in Liverpool. The research found that the proportion of ethnic minority applicants increased from 7.1% to 15% and successful applicants equalled 18% (from almost 10%).

4.7 CRITICISMS OF POSITIVE ACTION

Positive action is not without it critics. In 1981 Lord Scarman (in Braham et al., 1981b) suggested that positive action should only be a temporary measure.

[18] The term 'Black' is used here to include African-Caribbean, Asian, African and Chinese or other groups who experience discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

However, as shown in Chapter Two, years later under-representation of ethnic minorities in certain industries and occupations is still prevalent. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, many confuse positive action with positive discrimination and argue that it is 'unfair' and to the exclusion of poor white people. Bowes and Sim (nd) reviewed positive action programmes in the UK and argue that the programmes have a limited focus and make a case for a wider role for positive action in the future, in particular with a stronger socio-economic focus. This argument reflects that in the USA where class-based programmes have been advocated rather than those based upon 'race' (Swain, 1996; Wilson, 1999). In fact, Bowes and Sim (2001) found that while there was generally wide support of positive action from Scottish housing employers, some organisations felt that it was inappropriate to solely focus on ethnic minority groups as they were not the only disadvantaged groups in the labour market. Therefore, they concluded that programmes with socio-economic focus would have more widespread support.

Despite some positive findings of positive action discussed in the section above there have also been some less positive findings. In Kandola and Fullerton's (1998) study of diversity initiatives, using positive action in recruitment was found to be one of the 10 least successful initiatives and providing positive action training to employees was just outside the 10 least successful initiatives. In fact they say:

> Positive action, in our view, is no better than applying a sticking-plaster to a festering wound: it addresses the symptoms rather than the causes. It also provides activity without being purposeful.
>
> Kandola and Fullerton (1998:134)

Diversity management has become a popular management tool and this has important implications for positive action (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998). However, it can be argued that diversity cannot be managed without a diverse workforce, therefore positive action can be used as a temporary measure to achieve diversity.

Law and Harrison (2001) comment on the strategic difficulties of positive action. They note, as do Kandola and Fullerton (1998), that positive action programmes are group based. However, as highlighted in Chapter Two, ethnic minorities are not a homogenous group; household and group identities are complex and therefore it is not as straightforward as assuming divisions on the basis of being black or white. Furthermore:

> People have multiple identities and affiliations, and members of an identifiable group may occupy differing economic locations. Consequently, prioritizing a group, on the basis of its previous collective experience of certain forms of oppression, exclusion, or negative discrimination, could be problematic, given the intersecting of the variables of class, gender, 'race', locality, ethnicity, disability, age and household structures. All members of a broad category (such as black minority ethnic people) may share negative consequences of (say) racism, but this tells us little on its own about the legitimacy of any group member's potential individual claim to priority over a member of another group.
>
> Law and Harrison (2001)

Law and Harrison argue that the Black Caribbean women in the UK have made much more progress compared to Black Caribbean men. Furthermore, it could be argued that some ethnic minority groups have reached broad parity with the white group, as shown in Chapter Two, and therefore positive action is no longer required for such groups. That said, overall there is still under-representation in managerial and senior positions of ethnic minority groups.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Race relations legislation in Great Britain makes discrimination illegal. It also allows for provisions under the RRA (1976); in particular section 37 of the act permits positive action training in order to address the under-representation of ethnic minorities in industries and occupations in which they are under-represented. However, positive action is not widespread and, moreover, research on positive action is scant. The research that is available shows that positive action training has been particularly effective in the housing profession. However, positive action is not without its problems, it is often confused with positive discrimination and more recently measures addressing socio-economic factors are being advocated. The remainder of this study aims to address this

lack of systematic research on positive action training. The following chapter outlines the research methodology used in order to evaluate a positive action training programme delivered by a voluntary sector organisation, which will be outlined in Section 5.1.2 of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of positive action training with respect to ethnic minority groups, under the terms and reference of section 37 of the Race Relations Act (1976). The overall research question is:

> Is positive action training effective in combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities?

The research also has a number of related objectives which underpin this core question:

- To ascertain the dimensions of labour market disadvantage experienced by ethnic minority groups.

- To identify the factors or barriers that affect ethnic minorities from entering the labour market and career progression.

- To define the key characteristics of the participants of the positive action training programme.

- To evaluate the positive action training programme delivered by an ethnic minority training provider, with particular emphasis on the experience of the positive action trainees.

- To determine the key strengths and weaknesses of the positive action training programme and to establish the key components of a successful positive action training programme and social policy implications.

This chapter presents the research methods that were used to collect the research data in order to answer these research objectives. It discusses the issues and considerations that shaped the eventual design of the project. The project as a whole took the form of an evaluation study carried out by means of a case study using multiple research methods. It focused in detail on a positive action training programme, administered by the Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED), in the city of Bristol. The research methods included a survey of participants of the positive action training programme in order to draw out some key characteristics of the participants and their evaluations of the programme. Face-to-face interviews and a focus group with trainees were then used to further explore particular aspects in more detail. Key informant interviews were also undertaken using face-to-face interviews, these included strategic-level personnel as well as those involved in the delivery and the implementation of the programme and local organisations. The merits and limitations of the chosen tools are discussed in this chapter as well as issues such as generalisability and validity. All the fieldwork for this research was carried out between March 2002 and July 2003.

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design was shaped by the research question and the aims and objectives of the research presented above. The study evaluates a positive action training programme within the context of a case study. A multi-method approach is taken, making use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. As suggested by Hall and Hall (2004), the choice of methods is made within the context of an evaluation with respect to their strengths and limitations.

5.1.1 Evaluation

Two definitions of an evaluation are presented below:

> An evaluation is a study which has a distinctive purpose; it is not a new or different research strategy.
>
> Robson (1993:170)

> Evaluation is less a research method of itself and more a set of methods, associated methodologies and practices with distinctive applied purposes...
>
> Stern (2005:xxi)

Evaluations are commonly deployed as a means to judge actions and activities in terms of values, criteria and standards. At the same time, evaluations seek to enhance effectiveness and make policy success more likely. Evaluative enquiry draws on a full range of research methods and in many ways it bridges the worlds of academic and applied research, and policy and practice.

Stern (2005) distinguishes between five main types of evaluation, each with their own purpose. These are planning/efficiency, accountability, implementation, knowledge production, and institutional and community strengthening. A planning/efficiency evaluation is one that is undertaken in order to ensure that there is justification for a policy or programme and that the resources are efficiently deployed. The accountability evaluation demonstrates how far a programme has achieved its objectives and how well the resources have been used. The purpose of an implementation evaluation is to improve performance and efficiency of the delivery and management. The knowledge production evaluation has the aim of increasing understanding about what works in what circumstances and how different measures and interventions can be made effective. The institutional and community strengthening evaluation has the purpose of improving and developing capacity among programme participants and their networks.

The research process of an evaluation is one of three stages (Owen, 1999). These are the determination of the evaluation questions, the assembly of evidence and the analysis of the evidence. The order of these stages does not have to be chronological. The methods to ask the research questions can be related to the contrasting models of evaluation. Robson (1993) suggests that

evaluations can be carried out using experimental, survey or case study research strategies.

The overall research question of this thesis (Owen's first stage of an evaluation) was set out in the introduction to this chapter; therefore it is now necessary to determine the design of the research in order to collect the evidence or data. The criteria for the research design are based on the production of relevant and credible research, which is measured against validity and reliability. Qualitative interviewing is highly unlikely to produce the same kind of standardised responses produced by structured questioning, and therefore the level of reliability can be seen as low. But because in-depth interviews allow the respondent to explain and expand on responses, it is argued that qualitative research is high on external validity, that is, the results relate to the 'real world'. Feelings and experiences are expressed rather than the artificial world of the experiment or that of the tight responses of a questionnaire. Although surveys may score high on internal validity, it can be questioned whether a narrowly specified variable really validly represents the wider concept of interest (Hall and Hall, 2004).

The reliability and validity debate shows that there are fundamental differences in the way the different research methods meet design criteria. These methodological differences are associated with the main epistemological positions of positivism and interpretivism, which can be broadly divided into quantitative and qualitative paradigms. It is also argued that quantitative and qualitative methodologies do not need to be seen as uniquely distinct; for example a questionnaire can contain open-ended questions and interviews can be quantified. Whilst methodological purists urge caution on combining methods with conflicting epistemological foundations (Mason, J. 2002), it is now generally accepted in the social sciences that combining quantitative and qualitative methods adds value and provides a complete account on the subject of interest (Bryman, 2001). Therefore, the use of multi-methods or triangulation can increase confidence in the research findings.

In this research project an evaluation is undertaken as its purpose is to assess the effects and effectiveness of something; in this case it looks at the effectiveness of a training programme. More specifically, in terms of Stern's different types of evaluation, it is a knowledge evaluation and one of a positive action training programme which is delivered under the terms of section 37 of the RRA (1976). In this particular instance a case study research strategy is chosen and it makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data. This will be discussed in more detail below. The focus of this study is the effectiveness of the programme in combating labour market disadvantages. In particular it focuses on the experiences of the programme participants and to some degree the organisation that administered the delivery of the training programme. Host-placement providers and the training providers (such as the colleges) are not included in the study. The research findings will enable programme staff to make changes that improve the effectiveness of the programme.

An evaluation framework was devised in order to identify performance measures by which to evaluate the effectiveness of the training programme:

1. The number of participants moving into jobs post-training
2. The number of participants gaining qualifications during the training and the level of the qualifications
3. The number of participants gaining work experience
4. The number of participants developing/learning other skills (e.g. time management, project management)
5. The labour market disadvantages experienced by the positive action trainees and whether they were addressed
6. Any other benefits, such as an increase in confidence, self-esteem etc. (soft measures)
7. Participant assessment/views of the training provision
8. The unit cost of training provision
9. The numbers/proportions of participants who are from the different ethnic groups, and who are men and women achieving the outcomes above.

So as not to straitjacket the evaluation, this was not be a strict framework; it was recognised that other issues may arise in the research process or findings that are also important, particularly with respect to the qualitative methods. Quantitative methods will provide ratings of particular aspects of the programme, whilst qualitative methods will provide answers to questions in much more depth and provide information on the history of activity before the traineeship and details of career development post-traineeship, which will help contextualise the details from the questionnaire and secondary data.

There are a number of issues to consider when carrying out a research project; in this particular case the research is based on a programme that is delivered by an organisation. Despite the value of this research, the evaluation may not be welcomed by all those in the case study organisation. Although this evaluation does not carry any risks as opposed to one carried out by a funding organisation, staff members may still feel threatened by the evaluation because they may believe that their individual performance is being scrutinised. The researcher was aware of this and this was overcome by detailing the purpose of the research and involving key personnel from the case study organisation in the design of the evaluation. Another consideration was that individuals may be unwilling to provide information, therefore confidentiality and anonymity was promised to all participants. Other factors that may influence the research also need to be kept in mind:

- External environment of the organisation, such as funding, the economic environment generally;
- internal environment of the organisation, such as staff issues, turnover;
- the management and operational environment of the case study organisation;
- the nature of the programme including any data recorded
- social impacts;
- organisations impacts;

- changes in legislation as positive action training relies on the Race Relations Act (1976).

5.1.2 Case Study

A case study approach to the evaluation was adopted; the definition for which is:

> Case study methods involve systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the research to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions.
>
> Berg (2004:251)

A case study is not a data-gathering technique, but a methodological approach that incorporates a number of data gathering measures (Yin, 1989). A case study provides extremely rich data which is detailed and in depth as opposed to extensive large-scale survey research data, which may seem somewhat superficial in comparison (Champion, 1993).

The approach to case studies ranges from general field studies to, as in this study, an individual organisation. Concentrating on a single phenomenon, the research aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the programme. The researcher will be able to capture various nuances and patterns that other approaches may not (Berg, 2004). In terms of generalisability:

> ... there is clearly a scientific value to gain from investigating some single category of individual, group, or event simply to gain an understanding of that individual, group, or event. For those with a more positivist orientation who have concern about generalizing to similar types of individuals, groups, or events, case methods are still useful and to some extent generalizable.
>
> Berg (2004:259)

Moreover, Berg goes on to say:

> When case studies are properly undertaken, they should not only fit the specific individual group, or event studied but also generally provide understanding about similar individuals, groups and events.
>
> Berg (2004:259)

Despite the attempts to include two case studies in this research project (see the discussion on limitations in Section 5.4) one case study was researched. Moreover, it has also been argued in the context of labour market programmes that the success of a programme will depend on local labour market conditions (Peck, 1998; Turok and Webster, 1998), therefore the same programme in two different geographical locations may result in different findings.

The choice of the case study can be determined by a number of factors. It can be a typical instance, an extreme instance, a test-site for a theory, a least likely instance or one that is intrinsically interesting (Denscombe, 1998). In this particular instance the case study area needed to be one in which positive action training was delivered, thereby limiting the choice to cities where positive action training organisations operated from, such as Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool[19], London, Manchester and Sheffield.

One criticism of the literature reviewed in Chapter Three is that in most cases the research has been based on areas where there is a high proportion of ethnic minorities (for example, Boddy, 1995; CAG Consultants, 1997b; Rolfe et al., 1996) or typical instances in Denscombe's choice of case study terminology. With reference to the research and the selection of case studies, "These were selected to include areas with a relatively high proportion of people from ethnic minorities" (Boddy, 1995:3) and, "The eight TECs were selected on the basis of the features that their areas have in common. These were the relative size of their ethnic minority populations, which are above the national average..." (Rolfe et al., 1996:15). There was one piece of research carried out in Essex where the ethnic minority population was between 2-3% and issues around the visibility of ethnic minority groups were highlighted (ELTEC, 1993). In fact in areas of smaller ethnic minority populations, the barriers are likely to be more profound. The ELTEC (1993) research report suggested that more research should be carried out in such areas.

[19] The positive action training provider in Liverpool, Merseyside Skills Training (MST), has gone into receivership.

The organisation delivering positive action training in the city of Bristol was chosen; this proved to be an interesting case and was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it has a relatively small ethnic minority population (see below) compared to some of the other cities positive action training programmes operate in (for example, Birmingham has an ethnic minority population of 30% and Manchester has an ethnic minority population of 19% (Census, 2001)). Moreover, the ethnic minority population is concentrated in four wards where a half of all ethnic minorities in Bristol live; these wards are Ashley, Easton, Eastville and Lawrence Hill. Secondly, what also makes it an interesting case study is that Bristol is an area of low unemployment; unemployment is 3.1% for the economically active population aged 16-64, compared to 3.4% for England and Wales (Census, 2001). As theory suggests, ethnic minorities experience low unemployment at time of recovery, and much higher patterns of unemployment in times of economic recession. So therefore one may expect there to be low unemployment among the ethnic minority population in Bristol. Thirdly, the positive action training organisation has been long established and has diversified into providing positive action training for all occupations and industries where there is an under-representation of ethnic minorities, whilst some positive action training providers, such as PATHWM (West Midlands), only provide positive action training in housing. The PAT organisation, the Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED) has been established since 1988 and is located in the inner-city (St Paul's in Ashley), making it accessible to the ethnic minority population. Fourthly, and possibly one of the more important reasons for carrying a detailed case study is that access to data was agreed from the organisation in Bristol from the onset of the project.

The City of Bristol is located in the South West of England. It has a resident population of 380,615 (Census, 2001). As already mentioned, Bristol has a relatively low ethnic minority population; it was measured at 5% in the 1991 Census and increased to 8.2% in the 2001 Census. Furthermore, what is interesting about this case is that ethnic minorities are highly concentrated in four wards (also deprived wards) as mentioned above. As mentioned in

Chapter Three, previous research (ELTEC, 1993) has shown that in areas of low ethnic minority population they are treated as invisible communities; this will be interesting to explore in this case study area.

The ethnic minority population of Bristol is displayed in the table below (Table 5.1). Overall, the proportion of the ethnic minority population of Bristol is similar to that of England as a whole. In Bristol the largest ethnic minority groups are Caribbean and Indian groups. However, compared to the overall figures for England, Bristol has proportionately fewer Indians and marginally more people of Caribbean origin.

Table 5.1: Ethnic breakdown of Bristol and England, resident population (%)

Percentage of resident population in ethnic groups:	Bristol, City of	England
White	91.8	90.9
Of which White Irish	1.1	1.3
Mixed	2.1	1.3
Asian or Asian British	2.8	4.6
Indian	1.2	2.1
Pakistani	1.1	1.4
Bangladeshi	0.3	0.6
Other Asian	0.3	0.5
Black or Black British	2.3	2.1
Caribbean	1.5	1.1
African	0.6	1.0
Other Black	0.2	0.2
Chinese or other ethnic group	0.9	0.9

Source: 2001 Census, ONS

Familiarisation

In order to help understand the programme in full and any changes that have taken place (to the programme or delivery organisation) the researcher sat in on trainee forums (these will be described in the case study below) at CEED which were a very good way of meeting the current trainees, finding out about traineeships, what their thoughts were and what their problems were. This helped in formulating the survey instrument and interview questions. The researcher also attended positive action training meetings, management

committee meetings and attended three of CEED's Annual General Meetings in order to get some contextual information about the organisation.

5.2 MULTI-METHOD RESEARCH/TRIANGULATION

There has been a growing interest in the integration of qualitative and quantitative perspectives in social science research in recent years (Creswell, 2003). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it is also recognised that the methodological underpinnings of such an approach remain somewhat controversial as the two perspectives are often taken to denote conflicting ontological and epistemological assumptions (e.g. Guba, 1990). The most intense controversy has surrounded claims of the fundamental epistemological divide between quantitative and qualitative approaches. According to this viewpoint, qualitative methods are rooted within interpretivism whereas quantitative methods are rooted within positivist assumptions.

Another point of view is that rather than constituting conflicting paradigms, quantitative and qualitative methods represent complementary approaches to social science research. Multi-method research strategies or triangulation facilitate a deeper, richer and more multi-dimensional exploration of the research question or problem, drawing on the strengths of the diverse research methods available. Triangulation is therefore a mixing of methods or combining of operations and is also a synonym for mixed strategies and multiple strategies; it reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Webb et al. (1966) used the idea of triangulation to advocate multiple operationalism, employing several methods at once so that the biases of any one method might be cancelled out by those of others. Its use in qualitative research, however, was first advocated and then popularised by Denzin (1970) and has become a salient feature of research methodology.

Triangulation can be applied to a case study and the confidence in the study increases if the study shows that the different sources or methods all point in the

same direction. Converging evidence leads one to be very confident about establishing facts. Yin (1993) claims that this type of triangulation is the most desired pattern for dealing with case study data, and this outcome should always be sought. He also gives an important clue of asking the same question of different sources of evidence and if all sources point to the same answer, then that data has been successfully triangulated.

> ... triangulation in evaluation research attempts not only to 'plug the gaps' inherent in each method, but also to strive towards verification through constant comparison.
>
> Pitcher (2002:492)

There are two sub-types of methodological triangulation. These are within a method and between methods. An example of the former is in a questionnaire where a combination of attitude scales are presented so there is an element of force in choosing one of the items, coupled with open-ended questions or questions worded in a way so that they can be cross-checked against earlier questions. Between methods is where different methods are used in data collection and is one of the most widely applied methods. Therefore multiple methods can also be used in a complementary fashion to enhance interpretability and compensate for the biases of any one method. Different research techniques can be used in the same study, or the same method on different occasions. They can also help in other ways – rather than focusing on specific research questions, triangulation may be used to address different but complementary questions within a study. Methodological triangulation is frequently cited as a rationale for mixing qualitative and quantitative methods in a study. For example, in a primary quantitative study, the interpretation of statistical analyses may be enhanced by a qualitative narrative account or the other way around.

In terms of evaluation and such methods:

> Evaluation in particular has adopted a pragmatic approach to the choice of research methods.
>
> Hall and Hall (2004:99)

Within an evaluation different groups can be researched using different methods. These methods are essentially chosen with respect to their advantages and disadvantages accordingly (Hall and Hall, 2004). Hall and Hall also note that it is a common strategy to use different research methods in order to obtain different types of information from the same group, as will be carried out in this project and outlined below.

Triangulation or a multi-method strategy is undertaken in this study. The approach adopted in this study integrates quantitative data derived from secondary data analysis of administrative data held by the case study organisation and a survey of the participants who have been on the programme. The quantitative data is the basis for subsequent qualitative research. It will provide background data and will assist in formulating the issues for discussion in the interviews, as found in other research:

> ... a largely quantitative approach is unlikely to get to the root of the problems and barriers experienced by the client group, nor will it reveal alternative means of assessing client progress in addition to the stated objectives of the programme.
>
> Pitcher (2002:447)

Therefore the qualitative data was derived primarily from face-to-face interviews of previous positive action trainees and a focus group of current trainees in order to obtain contemporary information as the programme has evolved over the years. Interviews were also conducted with key informants for details regarding the organisation and issues such as funding. Each of the data collection methods employed in this thesis is discussed in more detail below.

5.2.1 Quantitative Methods

This section describes the quantitative methods used in this study in the form of survey research methods and secondary data analysis.

5.2.1.1 Survey Research Methods

There are a number of options available when using survey research methods; these include postal surveys, personal interviews, telephone interviews, e-mail interviews and third-party administration surveys. The use of survey methods allows accessing data using a structured and standardised format, reducing bias as the same set of questions is asked to each respondent. Therefore reliability and validity are high for such methods; survey methods are also distinguished from qualitative approaches with regard to the generalisability of findings. A large number of responses can be achieved in a short space of time as well as from a large geographical area. In particular, the use of a questionnaire survey that is mailed out and mailed back allows for objectivity as no direct contact is made with the research respondents; also, anonymity may be advantageous and help increase the response rate. Furthermore, respondents can take their time to fill in the questionnaire and think about their responses.

However, such methods do carry some weaknesses. In the case of the postal survey there is no control over how the questionnaire is filled in, moreover who actually fills it in, although it is recognised that addressing letters to specific people could help to overcome this. The non-response rate of such a method may be high, although this too can be overcome by careful design of the research tool and incentives to encourage the respondents. The financial cost of using this methodology is high as it will include the postage of sending the questionnaires, the cost of pre-paid addressed envelopes, letters to respondents, the printing of the questionnaire and the time of the administration of bringing the different elements together. Other drawbacks of this method are that the survey tool has to be simple and straightforward and the possibility of probing is absent.

This study draws upon survey data in order to explore the characteristics of positive action trainees and asks evaluative questions about the traineeship and their experiences of labour market barriers. In this research project a self-completion postal survey administered by a third-party was used. Other

alternatives were considered, such as telephone interviews, however, this was not possible due to the telephone numbers not being available because of data protection.

In designing the questionnaire, resources such as the Question Bank (www.qb:soc.surrey.ac.uk) were looked at for the style and structure. Other surveys, such as that used in the Julienne (2001) study and official surveys, for example, the Census and the Labour Force Survey, were reviewed for the format and response options for variables such as economic activity and ethnicity. During the formation stage of the questionnaires comments were sought from key informants such as the Managing Director and Training and Development (TDOs) of CEED, as suggested by de Vaus (1996:103), as they have good knowledge of the respondents. This helped to avoid questions that may have been offensive, highlight questions that could be particularly useful for exploring and alert any potential misunderstandings that may have arisen. Two sets of questionnaires were formulated, one for the current positive action trainees and another for the previous or ex-positive action trainees (see Appendix D). The two sets of questionnaires were ostensibly the same except that the one for the current trainees did not include questions on their current position and outcomes of the programme; but the rest remained the same for standardisation purposes. The questionnaires were piloted with two current trainees and two ex-trainees, a telephone feedback session was undertaken and the questionnaire was edited accordingly, although this did not result in many changes.

Evaluative questions were posed covering details on the outcomes and the processes of the programme, as suggested by Hall and Hall (2004). The questionnaire was structured as much as possible and respondents were guided through it in order to make it easier to fill in. Hall and Hall (2004) also suggest that in an evaluation, the evaluation questions are operationalised, that is, to turn abstract questions into answers that are quantifiable as variables. This advice was taken; for example, in evaluating the positive action training programme different elements about the programme were asked about (see

question 22 of questionnaire) and the responses were in the form of a closed question with a five-point Likert scale of: 'strongly agree; agree; neither agree nor disagree; disagree; strongly degree'. For the whole of the questionnaire design, rules were followed taking advice from de Vaus (1996) and May (1997), such as the avoidance of double questions, leading questions, long questions and the use of negative/double meanings.

The envelopes containing the questionnaire were prepared by the researcher. Each envelope included: the questionnaire; a cover letter from the researcher explaining the purpose of the research and contact details of the researcher if any questions were in need of answering, dating when the questionnaire should be returned by, with the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity; a letter from the Managing Director of CEED explaining the study; a pre-paid addressed envelope for the return of the questionnaire; and a prize draw slip (all letters are in Appendix E).

As previously mentioned, the questionnaire was administered by a third party, in this case by the case study organisation as due to reasons of confidentiality and data protection the researcher did not have access to the current and ex-trainees' addresses. Whilst third-party administration can increase the likelihood of responses, it can leave the administration with someone who may have little interest in the research (Hall and Hall, 2004). In order to overcome this the envelopes were fully prepared by the researcher as mentioned previously and frequent checks were made on them. The return address on the self-addressed envelope was that of the researcher to ensure confidentiality of responses.

In order to maximise the response rate a number tactics were used. Reminder letters were sent 10 days after the initial mail-out. Also TDOs were asked to remind current trainees to return the questionnaire at their reviews and during trainee forums. Other strategies to maximise the response rates were also used, some of which have already been mentioned (such as, sending a pre-paid envelope and a covering letter, following the tips of Salkind, 2000). Hall and

Hall (2004) suggest it is good to state that the research is conducted with the programme organisation and the results will be used to improve the programme, therefore as mentioned previously a letter from the Managing Director of CEED was included in the survey mail-out. Additionally an incentive in the form of a prize draw was included in order to generate a good response rate following the advice of Hall and Hall (2004):

> Incentives in the form of payment, or entering of names of respondents into prize draws, are becoming more common in commercial surveys and voluntary and community organisations may be prepared to offer a small prize to encourage local respondents.
> Hall and Hall (2004:116)

It was recognised that paying each respondent that replied would have potentially reaped a higher response rate, however, due to a limited budget of this project a prize draw of £25 in store vouchers was offered for each set of trainees (that is, current and previous).

As suggested by Hall and Hall (2004) and mentioned previously, this research project used different research methods to obtain different types of information from the same group of respondents, such that the questionnaire was followed up by interviews. Therefore the respondents were asked if they would like to be interviewed and their contact details were asked for on the survey. Section 5.2.2 will discuss this in more detail.

In summary, the reasons for employing a survey as a tool for this research project were four-fold. Firstly, one of the aims of the questionnaire was to gather information on the characteristics of the positive action trainees. Although there was some information on this from previous research, this was only for trainees in housing (Julienne, 2001), whereas this research looks at positive action training in all occupations and industries. Also what this element of the research sought to do was to fill any gaps in the administrative data held by the CEED and achieve a reliable and structured source of information. Secondly, it was used as an evaluative tool to ask questions about different aspects of the traineeship. Thirdly, the responses informed the topics for

discussion in the interviews. Finally, it acted as a method of attracting participants for interview, particularly as the database of clients and trainees was unavailable due to data protection.

Sampling strategy for the questionnaire

The size of the sample depends on three major factors (McIntyre, 2005). The first is analytic concern, that is the more diverse the population is, the larger the sample needs to be. The second factor of concern is 'real world' issues, such that the sample size is determined by resources, for example time and money. The third factor is the nature of the study and the number of variables going to be studied, the more variables to be studied, the larger the sample would need to be.

Probability samples were not used here due to the complex nature of the population group. This differed by ethnicity (as shown in Chapter Two, ethnic minority population is very diverse, therefore a representative sample of a heterogeneous population would have to be fairly large), gender and age. It was recognised that some of the addresses of ex-trainees may be invalid as some trainees may have moved from the address they were living at whilst they were on the traineeship. Therefore it was decided to send a questionnaire to each previous trainee particularly as this was only a small number and manageable in terms of administration. The population was 329, however 316 questionnaires were sent to previous positive action trainees, discounting for those that had no address (also some people wanted their information removed from the database questionnaire) and 33 questionnaires were sent to current trainees. Although response rates vary, it is estimated that a postal-self administered survey may result in a response rate of 10% or less (Hussey and Hussey, 1997), however, a response rate of 18% was achieved for this survey (see Chapter Six for the results and Appendix F for the characteristics of the respondents). This also compares favourably with a 20% response rate for the study of positive action trainees in housing (Julienne, 2001). Overall the profile of the respondents reflected the gender of the population, although this was not

so for each ethnic minority group, therefore it was not possible to carry out analyses of each individual ethnic minority group; in particular the proportion of respondents matched that of the population of the trainees for the Asian, 'Other' and Black Caribbean groups; it was over-representative for the Black African group and under-representative for the Black Other group (see Appendix F). Despite this valid conclusions could certainly be drawn for the positive action trainees as a whole as long as the profile of the respondents is acknowledged. The validity of the data was strengthened as it was supplemented with additional data from face-to-face interviews, which are discussed in further detail below.

Data analysis

The data was analysed using the five points suggested by Hall and Hall (2004):

a. organising the data suitable for analysis
b. checking for consistency and errors
c. reducing and summarising
d. looking for patterns
e. testing for hypothesis or relationship and construct explanations.

The computer package called 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences' (SPSS) was used in order to assist the analysis of data collected from the questionnaires.

5.2.1.2 Secondary Analysis

Secondary analysis of data involves the use of data archives or records. It permits the researcher to capitalise on the efforts of others in collecting the data and allows the researcher to focus on the analysis and interpretation of it. Robson (1993) advocates the use of administrative records or management information systems as they can form a valuable supplementary resource. With reference to using multi-methods in a case study he states:

> If administrative records are available, they are examined to see what additional corroboration other light they can throw on the case.
>
> Robson (1993:284)

Whilst existing records may allow unnecessary duplication in data collection, there are a number of issues that should be taken into account when using administrative records from management information systems. The quality of data must be assessed, the researcher must find out what data is kept, how it is collected and inputted, and the frequency of collection (Robson, 1993). Consideration should be taken into account that the records are unlikely to provide answers to the questions posed by the researcher as they were likely to have been collected for another reason or purpose. Nevertheless such information can provide valuable insights and starting points for unforeseen lines of enquiry.

CEED maintain a database, CEED Information System (CEEDIS), in order to record various details of all their positive action trainees, both current and previous. Various details on the trainees are recorded, these include: personal details; educational details; placement details; financial information regarding the trainee allowance; other details such as the length of time the trainee had been unemployed for prior to the traineeship and the outcome post-traineeship (see Appendix G for a list of the variables recorded). The variables can be usefully analysed in order to describe various characteristics of CEED trainees who have embarked upon a positive action training programme. This is an important source of data. Though there is some missing data in the database, for the main it is very detailed and an excellent source of information on the entire population under investigation.

The details of the previous trainees do not stay static and are updated if any of the missing elements become known. Information is also updated on the basis of a questionnaire that is sent out by CEED to all the previous trainees. The "Where are you now?" questionnaire asks a number of questions with regard to their employment situation after the training programme. This is quite important as there are a number of missing values for various variables and entries, therefore over time the data will become more accurate. The reverse of this is also true in that some of the previous trainees (i.e. those that have completed) people, as a result of the "Where are you now" survey and other mail-shots,

may ask for their details to be withdrawn from the database. In such cases, only the contact details are removed, retaining all the other variables such as age and ethnicity. Therefore an analysis can be carried out on an almost complete dataset.

In practice the dataset proved to be incomplete and unreliable for some variables. For example, in terms of reliability, with reference to the ethnicity of the participants, there were problems with the administration data CEED held as it was unclear as to whether their classification of Asian included those who were Indian, Pakistani as well as having separate categories for these. Moreover there was no category for Asian Other, but there was an Other category. This would lead to confusion; thereby Indians could mark either the Asian or the Indian category. Also some of the records for the placement details were incorrectly labelled for the placement type (public/private/voluntary sector). In some cases some variables are missing due the administrative paperwork not being filled out fully at the start of the traineeship, other information is missing due to a lack of knowledge. Some fields are more lacking than others as the variable may have been introduced at a later stage, hence such figures would not have been recorded in the early days of PATH (Bristol) or Positive Action Consortium.

Data analysis

Though organisational data was used, it was kept in mind that the data was recorded for managerial purposes and feedback for funding bodies. As some of the data from this source was incomplete, some questions were repeated in the questionnaires. The analysis was based on the information held by CEED with reference to all their previous trainees who have taken on a positive action traineeship. The total number of previous trainees as at 18th September 2000 was 329. That is, 329 individuals have undertaken traineeships since the 1st January 1988 (as discussed earlier in this chapter the organisation has been through many changes).

5.2.2 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods include interviewing; these can be in the form of group interviews, focus groups or face-to-face interviews and the interviews can be semi-structured or unstructured. Qualitative approaches facilitate a more detailed, richer account of the research phenomena than those afforded by survey methods, thus amplifying and illuminating this data. They also allow for the investigation of highly complex processes that are not amenable to quantification in ways which facilitate the generation of theories. Face-to-face interviews and focus groups were used in this study and will be discussed in detail below.

5.2.2.1 Face-to-Face Interviews

Face-to-face interviews are the most common form of qualitative methods. They allow the research topic to be covered in depth and allow more exploration than surveys. The researcher is interested in teasing out meaning and interpretation. The interview is also an opportunity for the interviewer to describe the purpose of the research project and clarify questions; this helps build up a rapport between the researcher and the subject and assists in building trust and therefore gaining reliable data. The core features of face-to-face interviews are that they are an interactional exchange of dialogue, they are relatively informal, a thematic or topic-centred approach can be taken and they take the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextualised (Mason, 2002).

Interviews can also counteract some of the disadvantages of other methods. Face-to-face interviews in particular allow the inquirer to follow up interesting responses in a way a self-administered questionnaire cannot (Robson, 1993). They can also produce more depth of information as topics can be explored in a lot more detail, and data can be checked for validity as accuracy can be checked for during the interview (Denscombe, 1998). Moreover, non-verbal

cues may help understand the verbal responses. Also the dynamics of the individual interviews put more burden on informants to explain themselves to the researcher (Agar and MacDonald, 1995).

Despite the ability of interviews to counteract the disadvantages of other methods, they have their own drawbacks. Interviews are time consuming and can be costly; they take time to plan and execute, as well as to transcribe and analyse the data, which can also often be difficult. The lack of standardisation in interviews can raise concerns about reliability. The impact of the interviewer and the context means that consistency and objectivity are hard to achieve as the data collected are, to an extent, unique to the specific individual and context involved. There may also be an interviewer effect, and in particular, what is said can be affected by the identity of the researcher. The recording equipment can also cause problems for some interviewees, although the effect of the equipment tends to wear off quite quickly.

Face-to-face interviews were used as one method of data collection in this research project. There were a number of reasons why face-to-face interviews were undertaken. Most of the experiences of each individual are unique, in that they are unlikely to have followed the same path, they would have done traineeships at different times, they would have had different TDOs, different host placements in various occupation and industries, to name but a few differences. Although other methods such as focus groups were considered, they were not used as the main type of interview as organising the groups would have proved difficult. Although the administrative data for CEED showed that there was a high number of trainees in housing, only a few were willing to take part in follow-up interviews. Also there was the issue of gender and ethnicity (with such few numbers, for example Pakistani and Bangladeshi women), age, different labour market experiences, and the physical location of trainees with some having left Bristol, making the logistics of focus groups as the main interview method difficult.

Sampling strategy

In deciding the number of interviewees to carry out, Kvale (1996) is not very helpful: "Interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know" (101). It may be useful to revisit the aims of quantitative and qualitative methodology; while the aim of quantitative data gathering is to make valid generalisations from the sample to the population, the aim of qualitative methods is often not to generalise from the sample, but to ensure that it is representative and encompasses the range of views that are held.

As mentioned in the section on survey methodology, survey respondents were asked whether they would like to participate in a follow-up interview, therefore the recruitment for interviews was non-coercive, which should have made the interviewee feel comfortable and empowered. Therefore face-to-face interviews were conducted with a selection of those willing to take part and purposeful sampling was employed in order to capture the diversity of the participants; the interviewees were chosen to account for a mixture of genders, ethnicity and age (see Appendix H). Thirteen interviews with ex-positive action trainees were carried out and one with a current trainee. These interviews lasted between one-and-a half hours to two hours. All the interviews took place in a setting in which the respondent felt comfortable and at ease, and that was convenient for the participant to get to.

A series of semi-structured interviews were also undertaken with key informants. For the positive action training organisation these included the Managing Director of CEED and TDOs (both current and ex). Interviews were also carried out with key organisations, such as Bristol Racial Equality Council, Learning and Skills Council West of England, Connexions West of England and also a national organisation, the Black Training and Enterprise Group (BTEG). Also an informal interview was carried out with member of management from PATH National, which is based in London (see Appendix I for details).

A topic guide was used for all the interviews as this approach ensures greater consistency and hence some comparability between the interviewees by using a set of pre-defined questions. Different guides were used for the interviews with ex-trainees, current trainees and key informants. The topic guide for the positive action training participants was formulated in light of the survey responses and other contextual research that had taken place (see Appendix J). Used within the context of an evaluation, the evaluation questions drive the development of specific questions in the interview guide or schedule.

Data analysis

With the consent of the participants all the interviews were taped and transcribed in full by the researcher (except in one case where the interviewee objected to the tape recording of the interview, in this case detailed notes were taken and typed up immediately after the interview). The transcribed data made the analysis much easier and accurate and it also allowed for verbatim quotes to be used. A software package called QSR NVIVO (version II) that facilitates the coding and analysis of qualitative data was used in order to manage the data. The 'Framework' model was used, this is a matrix based method which uses a thematic framework to classify and organise data according to key themes, concepts and emerging categories (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2003). The first stage was the familiarisation of the data, this involved the immersion in the data by listening to the tapes of the interviews, studying observational notes during which key and recurrent themes were listed. The emergent themes and a priori issues that informed the original research aims and the topic guide were used to develop an index. Some of the key themes included the strengths of traineeship, the weaknesses of the traineeship, the reasons why they wanted to do the traineeship, the barriers to employment and the barriers to training they experienced prior to the traineeship. The index was then systematically applied to all of the transcripts. The next stage was charting, this involved the interviews being organised according to the appropriate thematic references. Charting pulled together the data which enabled the mapping and interpretation of the data set as a whole. The findings are presented in Chapter Six.

5.2.2.2 Focus Groups

Focus groups were initially used in market research; they are now employed by social science researchers (Morgan and Kreuger, 1998). They focus on the experiences shared by the participants. Focus groups, like in-depth interviews, provide richness and depth of information. The data produced is of high validity and the outcomes are not pre-determined by the research (Hall and Hall, 2004). The emphasis on focus groups is on capturing the range and diversity of views, beliefs and opinions of participants, rather than upon detailed biographical and narrative accounts. Focus groups also allow for individual opinions and attitudes to be expressed in a non-threatening situation and these can be tested against others in the group.

> The hallmark of focus groups is the explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group.
> Morgan (1988:12)

Different dynamics can be explored in focus groups, such as gender and age and these need to be organised accordingly. Whereas face-to-face interviews may prove time consuming in terms of the number of interviews that can be undertaken in a given period of time, one of the main advantages of focus groups according to Morgan (1988) is that they provide the opportunity to observe a large amount of interaction on a topic within a limited time period. He also highlights that focus groups are advantageous as there is a greater emphasis on the participants' points of view.

As with any other method focus groups do have their potential weaknesses. One of the drawbacks for focus groups is that the moderator has rather less control over the interview than in one-to-one interviewing. The moderator can at times have little directive role and the outcome can be unpredictable. On the other hand the use of focus groups can offer participants the opportunity to voice collective feelings and work together in ways which can be an empowering experience. Other drawbacks are that the participants are in some sense in an unnatural social setting; they provide less depth and detail about

opinions and experiences of any given participant; and the complexity of the logistics of getting all the respondents in the same place at the same place. Also, discussions within a group may influence the nature of the data it produces, as the presence of the group will affect what is said and how it is said. As already mentioned, face-to-face interviews were used to interview ex-trainees, as they can compensate for some of these problems. Whilst the interaction of the group dynamic is advantageous in focus group research, this can also be a weakness as it may not be clear whether the group members are mirroring each other's behaviour, whereby in a one-to-one situation certain group participants may express different views.

In the case of this project, despite focus groups not being used as the main form of qualitative data for the reasons suggested earlier, one focus group was planned and carried out with the current trainees. The reason for this was to capture contemporary issues as some of the previous trainees had completed their traineeship from anything up to 12 years ago. It was recognised that the organisation and the programme had evolved over the years (as discussed in the case study in Chapter Six) and it was necessary to find out whether issues in the early days of the programme had been solved. Only one focus group was felt necessary in order to capture the contemporary issues and this arena was felt best, particularly as they were still trainees and their full outcomes and complete evaluation of the programme and their careers post-traineeship could not be yet discussed. Furthermore, a focus group was planned for current trainees as the trainees were able interact and provide a useful discussion of the diverse traineeships and collective feelings could be shared, making it an empowering experience. Moreover, the trainees would feel comfortable as they would be less identifiable in a group rather than in one-to-one interviews particularly as they were still trainees and may not want to be too critical of the case study organisation.

On the other hand focus groups can never achieve the depth of data or meaning afforded by one-to-one interviewing; therefore face-to-face interviews were employed to interview the ex-trainees.

The size of the group is important; it should be large enough to provide a variety of voices, however, not too large so that everyone can express their opinion. Six to eight participants is generally recommended, along with hospitality and expenses (Hall and Hall, 2004). The focus group was planned for 10 participants as some of the participants were expected not to turn up, accordingly only eight showed up. The participants were purposively selected ensuring a mix of gender, ethnicity and age. A convenient location was chosen that was within easy access for all attendees. It was carried out after work hours as most trainees would be attending their host placement; therefore refreshments for the respondents were provided in the form of a buffet, and tea and coffee.

As mentioned in the section on face-to-face interview (Section 5.2.2.1), a topic guide was used in order to steer the discussion and ensure that all the relevant points were covered. As discussed in Section 5.2.2.1 the data analysis was carried out in the same way and this data was incorporated with the face-to-face interviews and was analysed together.

5.3 ACCESS

In any research exercise, access to information, respondents and other data sources is extremely important. Access can determine the type of data that can be collected and could potentially impose restrictions on the original research questions posed. More recently issues around confidentiality of data and ethical considerations have also become a factor in social science research. Therefore access should be sought early on in the planning of the research project and trust should be built between the gatekeeper and the researcher. Although access to information was not a problem in itself for this research project, some surrounding issues did arise; for example, the database of current and previous positive action trainees contained personal information, therefore the questionnaire was administered by CEED in order to overcome this problem. Also the secondary data about the positive action trainees was issued by CEED

once the names, addresses and any other private and confidential information about the trainees were removed, in order to anonymise each case. Confidentiality was promised to all participants of the research; this included those who responded to the questionnaire and took part in the qualitative interviews, therefore as will be seen in the next chapter the quotes have no references.

5.4 LIMITATIONS TO THE RESEARCH

As with many research projects and their eventual research design, this research project has its limitations. Although there were attempts to minimise the limitations, in real-world research in the social sciences this is not always possible. A potential limitation or weakness of this research could be seen as the low response rate of the survey. In order to overcome issues of validity the data was triangulated with in-depth face-to-face interviews and administrative data.

With hindsight one factor that could have led to the low response rate is the length of questionnaire, although most of the questions were closed and pre-coded. Another contributing factor to the low response rate could have been that the database of the trainee contact details was out of date, particularly for those who had completed the traineeship some years ago. In order to encourage a higher response the incentives could have been offered to every respondent in the form of a £5-10 voucher, however, this was not possible due to the limited budget of the research project. Also most people tend to be quite guarded about personal information especially if they do not know who is really administering the research. This is also a general issue around postal surveys and personal contact is more effective in trying to engage potential respondents in the research exercise. The issue around trust could also be a reason why a lot of respondents who completed the questionnaires did not want to participate in interviews, or the prize draw.

It could be argued that a comparison group is necessary to establish the effectiveness of a particular programme as it is difficult to know how good the results are as there is nothing to compare them with or benchmark them against, whether it has more effect than another programme or none at all. In scientific experiments controls are much easier to set up, however in the social world there are a number of methodological and theoretical flaws to contend with; for one, it is not easy to control for just one condition. In this particular case a control is not available as there is no similar programme to the positive action training programme delivered by CEED in the same local labour market area. Whilst it would be easy to find a proxy for a control group if the study focused on one industry or occupation sector, such as Julienne's study (2001), as this study looked at all the industries and occupations CEED is providing positive action training for, this was not possible.

In an ideal world a control group would enable a direct comparison to be made with the positive action training programme and its outcomes. However, the positive action training programme is unique in its overall structure and in many ways the programme is tailored to each individual trainee. Whilst there are a few other positive action training providers in the UK, it was planned at the beginning of the research project to carry out an evaluation of a positive action training programme in Liverpool, called Merseyside Skills Training. Access was negotiated and granted, however the organisation went into receivership before any fieldwork was carried out. It must also be noted that it was recognised that this would not necessarily be a direct comparison, as the organisations ran their programmes independently and geographical factors would have had to be considered as well as an analysis of organisational factors which could affect the evaluations. It has also been argued that social programmes operate in a specific local context (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

There are also some methodological issues when carrying out research on ethnic minority groups. A number of considerations should be made. These may include language barriers, particularly for older groups and those born abroad and recently moved to Britain. Also there is the possibility that those

individuals with low levels of literacy may not participate in surveys. However, this was not an issue of concern in this research. What was important to consider was diversity among ethnic minority groups and between gender. This was respected, for example, by not holding interviews for Muslims on a Friday as this is a religious day for them and generally avoiding religious celebrations (such as Eid, Easter and Diwali).

This research is also affected by some more generic issues which affect all research, such as low response rates for surveys and so on; however, these tend to be more marked for ethnic minorities (MORI, 2000). In some respects this was overcome as the survey was targeted at particular individuals who had been on the positive action training programme, as opposed to a random survey. There may have been an element of research apathy leading them to question why they should participate and what benefit it would be to them, particularly as they had been on the programme some years ago.

Non-response Bias

The low response rate of survey methods does raise the issue of non-response bias. It is possible that only those that had positive experiences responded, but this may not be the case as the interviewees were honest in their responses and weaknesses of the programme were expressed. Therefore the bias may not be as bad as first thought. The low response rate did, however, mean that some of the individual ethnic group responses were low and therefore unrepresentative, therefore the results were not broken down by ethnicity, despite the desire to explore any potential difference. Weighting the data was considered, however, the ethnicity data for the population (on CEEDIS) was not entirely accurate for the Asian group and therefore any analysis would have had to amalgamate the Asian groups and would not shed any light on individual groups.

Overall the response rate for the postal survey is acceptable, particularly when the factors for why it was not higher are considered. The survey provides some useful data which was triangulated with the interviews and administrative data.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The overall research question identified for the study reported here was: is positive action effective in combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minority groups? The key research questions were to identify the dimensions of disadvantage, to identify the barriers to employment or training, to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the positive action training programme, to explore the characteristics of the positive action trainees and their experiences of the programme. This chapter outlined the research strategy and methods used in order to collect and analyse the data and to address the key research questions. The project as a whole took the form an evaluation study carried out by means of a case study and using multiple research methods. Data collection included face-to-face interviews and a focus group with participants, face-to-face interviews with key informants as well as a survey of participants and a wide range of secondary data analysis. Qualitative data in the form of interview transcripts was systematically analysed using the thematic framework method. Having discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the methods used, it is concluded that they provided a robust basis for the research as a whole and for addressing the research questions. The following chapter presents the findings.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS OF THE EVALUATION OF POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the evaluation carried out on the positive action training (PAT) programme delivered by the Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED) Charity Ltd in the city of Bristol. It begins by providing a detailed description of CEED and continues to present the findings of the evaluation using the research methods and tools discussed in Chapter Five. In short these were a survey of participants, secondary data analysis of CEED's management information system, face-to-face interviews with participants and key informants and a focus group of current trainees. The evaluation focused on the characteristics and experiences of trainees, their experience of the labour market and unemployment, and their own evaluation of positive action and its impacts based on their experience of CEED's positive action training programme. It also includes suggestions for the improvement of the programme.

6.1 POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING PROVIDER: CASE STUDY

The Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED) Charity Ltd is an organisation that includes the delivery of positive action training programmes among its key activities. It is located in St Paul's, inner-city Bristol in the South West of England. It is an ethnic minority voluntary sector organisation which describes itself as a nationally recognised social enterprise providing training, advice and counselling, enterprise and other economic development initiatives aimed at 'Opening up Opportunities' for disadvantaged clients in the areas of employment, training and education. Its mission is to:

> Improve the economic well being of those currently disaffected in the labour market, in particular those from the inner city, black and other people from minority ethnic groups.
> CEED Annual Review 2000/2001

CEED originated from the Positive Action Training in Housing (PATH) initiatives mentioned in Chapter Four and has since undergone a number of changes. It has diversified its activities, as well as providing positive action training and other employment initiatives; its services include IT and media training, enterprise development and it also offers corporate services. The training and employment unit provides positive action training programmes as well as careers guidance and counselling, a job shop service, consultancy on equal opportunities and specialist training courses. The IT and Media Unit provides production facilities, courses, training and a conference and performance venue. The Enterprise Unit provides services particularly for inner-city businesses in the form of business advice and counselling, a business club, start-up loans (under the Youth Enterprise Loan Fund) and training courses.

CEED originated in the form of PATH (Bristol) in 1988, which provided positive action training specifically in the housing profession. It then changed to Positive Action Consortium (PAC) two years later and offered training to a wider range of occupations and employers. In 1995 it became CEED as it is known today as a result of a merger with two further organisations, the Newfoundland Employment Centre and Westmoreland Development Trust. The organisation has gone from being one with a turnover of £50,000 in 1988 to currently over one million pounds and from being completely grant funded to one that is income generating.

Its aims with specific regard to positive action training or other employment initiatives as they stand today are to:

- Improve and develop the skills of our clients to accredited levels
- Work closely with employers to improve access to employment and career development opportunities
- Support the development of local enterprise initiatives particularly minority ethnic owned enterprise
- Encourage, motivate and support job seekers

- Advocate for and provide relevant quality training and other support for our clients, particularly those from minority ethnic communities.

CEED Annual Review 2000/2001

Its objectives, again with specific regard to positive action training or other employment initiatives, are to:

- Provide on the job training and learning, leading to formal vocational qualifications and employment opportunities
- Use positive action training as a means of encouraging entry into employment sectors where our client groups are under-represented
- Provide professional advice, counselling, training and careers guidance for those seeking to establish an enterprise or other employment options

CEED Annual Review 2000/2001

Over 100 companies and 1,500 trainees have so far benefited from CEED's training programmes. During the period of 1998-99, 80 positive action trainees were in place, exceeding its target of 70 for the period specified. This demonstrates the high demand for such traineeships; it has also been calculated that there are 21 unsuccessful applicants for every place offered (Boddy, 1998b).

The positive action training programme has developed and evolved by PATH (Bristol) and its successors over time. It began as a one-year training programme in housing to a one or two (in some cases three) year programme being extended to various occupations and industries. All the traineeships have a structured outline with each trainee being placed with a host organisation or 'host placement' where on-the-job training is received. Generally each trainee will work towards some form of accredited qualification during the traineeship period and will attend a college or a university on a day-release basis for one day a week. Other specialist training is on offer during the training period. CEED provide one-day or two-day courses in, for example, time management and report writing. Throughout the training programme the individual has six-weekly monitoring meetings (reviews) with their supervisor from the host placement and their assigned Training and Development Officer (TDO), whereby progress is checked and documented and any problems can be raised.

The first three months of the traineeship is a probationary period for all trainees and reviews are conducted four-weekly.

All potential trainees face a competitive recruitment process. This consists of an application form and if successful at this stage, it is followed by an interview with a TDO from CEED and an individual from the host placement. The successful applicant will then spend a day at CEED receiving an induction, which includes information on what positive action is and details of the terms and conditions of the traineeship. Each individual is assigned a TDO and a host placement supervisor for the duration of the traineeship. At the beginning of the traineeship an action plan is drawn up by the trainee and the TDO. This will look at the needs of the trainee in relation to the traineeship and hence specify what courses and training is to be undertaken. Therefore in this respect each traineeship is unique as it aims to meet the needs of the individual action plan and that of the placement provider.

Part of the traineeship includes attendance at trainee forums; these are a full-day event held four times a year. They are an opportunity for the trainees to meet one another and network amongst themselves. It also provides trainees with the opportunity to organise training for themselves and invite speakers, amongst other activities. It is organised formally in that it has a Chair, Secretary and Treasurer who are trainees themselves and have been elected by fellow trainees. It is their responsibility to organise the day, arrange the guests and to administer the event accordingly.

Throughout the traineeship period the trainee receives a trainee allowance (tax free). This varies and depends on the placement; though most average about £8,000 p.a. The funding for the traineeships comes from a contribution from the host placement and is also drawn from a number of sources such as the Further Education Development Agency (FEDA), Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), Learning and Skills Council (LSC) (previously local Training and Enterprise Council), Regional Development Agency (RDA) and European Funding. The traineeship has been costed at £11,336 each (Boddy, 1998b).

Placements are within both private and public sector organisations as well as the voluntary and community sector. These have included Bristol City Council, British Broadcasting Corporation, various housing associations, British Gas (before privatisation) and local solicitors' firms, amongst others.

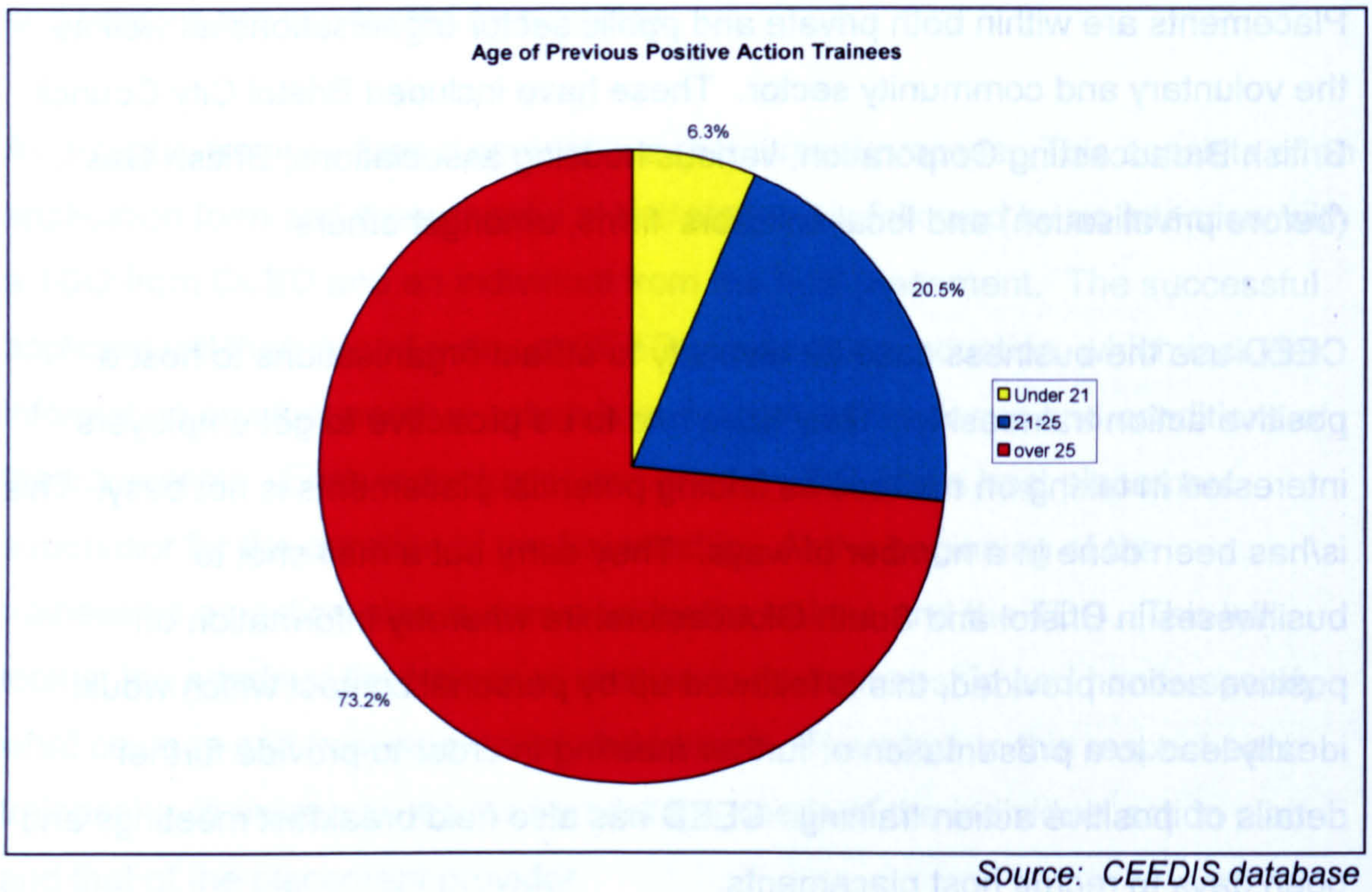
CEED use the business case for diversity to attract organisations to host a positive action traineeship. They have had to be proactive to get employers interested in taking on trainees as finding potential placements is not easy. This is/has been done in a number of ways. They carry out a mail-shot to businesses in Bristol and South Gloucestershire whereby information on positive action provided, this is followed up by personal contact which would ideally lead to a presentation or further meeting in order to provide further details of positive action training. CEED has also held breakfast meetings and open days to recruit host placements.

The outcomes of individuals that have been on the positive action training programmes have been very positive. Statistics based on all former trainees show that 81% of all trainees secured employment on completion of training, only 5% were unemployed and 14% went into full-time education or training (Boddy, 1998a). Figures for 1998-99 alone show that 84% of the trainees went into either employment or full-time further education/training (information based on analysis of CEED's Information System database).

6.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF PAT TRAINEES

The first section sets out the characteristics of the positive action trainee using the data from the CEED Information System (CEEDIS) database and the survey results. The CEEDIS database shows that the total number of trainees that undertook a positive action traineeship over an almost 12-year period was 329 (from 1988 to September 2000).

6.2.1 Age



Source: CEEDIS database

Figure 6.1

Almost three-quarters of the previous trainees were over 25 years of age (73.2%) when they commenced the traineeship; one-fifth were aged between 21 and 25 inclusive; and only a small proportion of the trainees were under 21 (6.3%) (see Figure 6.1 below). The average age of the trainees was almost 31 years of age (30 years and 11 months) and the ages of the trainees ranged from 17 to 56 years old. Therefore age was not a limiting factor to being on the traineeship.

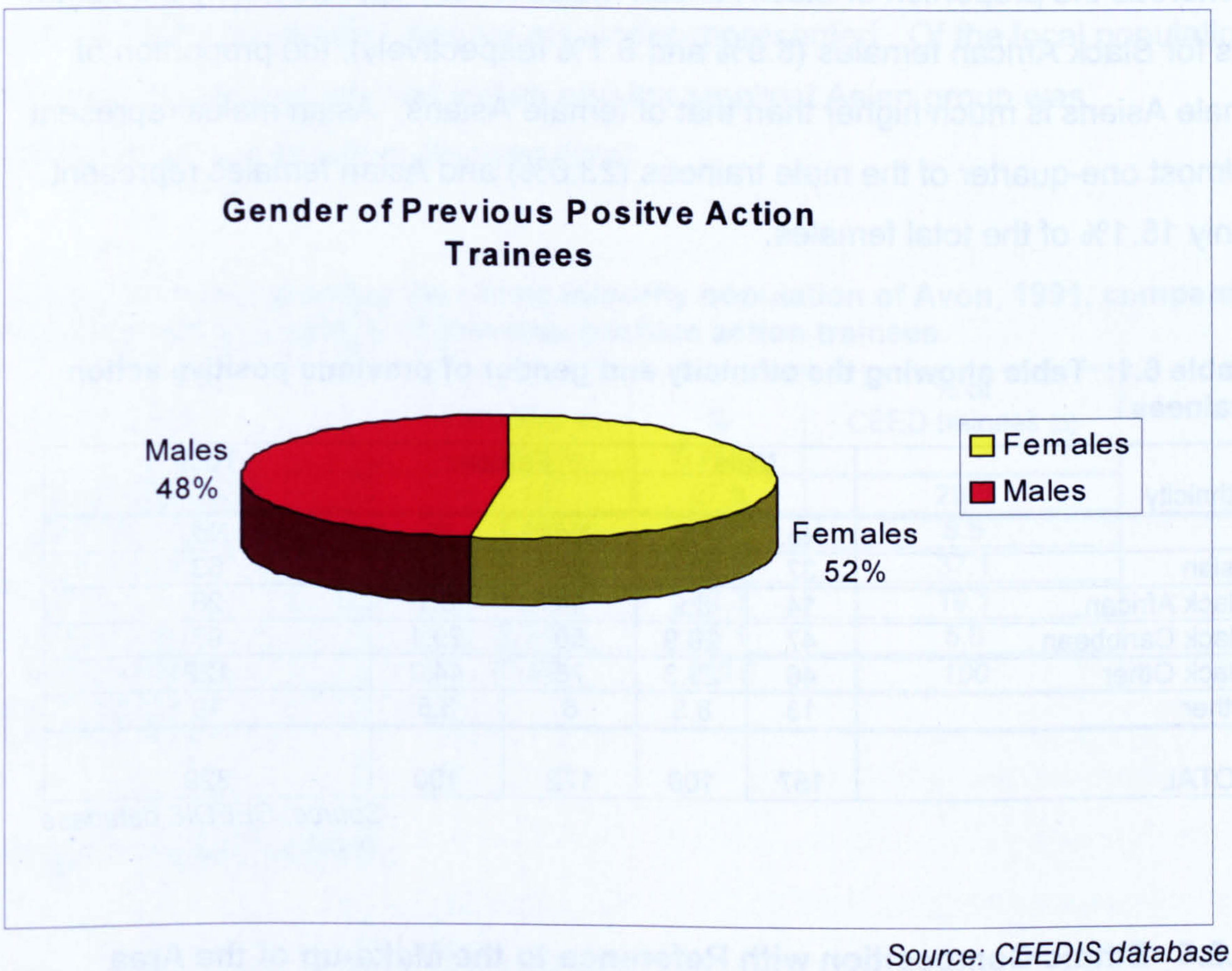
6.2.2 Ethnicity

Overall there was ethnic diversity among the trainees that had participated in the PAT programme. Of all the previous trainees, the largest proportion of PAT trainees was the Black Other group (37.1%), followed by the Black Caribbean group (29.5%). The Asian trainees represented 19.1% of all trainees; these

included: Indian; Pakistani; Bangladeshi; Chinese; and Asian Other trainees[20]. The percentage of Black African trainees was quite small in comparison at 8.5%.

6.2.3 Gender

Figure 6.2 below shows that the proportion of male and female trainees of the total trainees that completed a positive action traineeship at CEED or its predecessors is approximately equally represented (48% and 52% respectively).



Source: CEEDIS database

Figure 6.2

[20] The 'Asian' group may include Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese individuals. The diversity among the 'Asian' group is recognised, however cannot be recorded for separate groups due to the way the data was collected by CEED.

6.2.4 Ethnicity and Gender

Table 6.1 shows the split of ethnicity by gender. The largest ethnic minority groups that represent the male ex-positive action trainees were Black Caribbean and Black Other (29.9% and 29.3% respectively). Coincidently, these two groups also account for the greatest number of females, although at a much greater number for the Black Other females, constituting nearly half of all females (44.2%) whereas the Black Caribbean females account for almost a third (29.1%) of all females.

Whereas the proportion of Black African males is also approximately the same as for Black African females (8.9% and 8.1% respectively), the proportion of male Asians is much higher than that of female Asians. Asian males represent almost one-quarter of the male trainees (23.6%) and Asian females represent only 15.1% of the total females.

Table 6.1: Table showing the ethnicity and gender of previous positive action trainees

Ethnicity	Male		Female		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Asian	37	23.6	26	15.1	63
Black African	14	8.9	14	8.1	28
Black Caribbean	47	29.9	50	29.1	97
Black Other	46	29.3	76	44.2	122
Other	13	8.3	6	3.5	19
TOTAL	157	100	172	100	329

Source: CEEDIS database

6.2.5 Ethnic Composition with Reference to the Make-up of the Area

The ethnic minority population in Avon (1991 Census) was used to compare the make-up of the previous trainees to that of the local geographical area (see

Table 6.2)[21]. In terms of ethnic minority representation of the various groups on PAT, compared with the composition of the local area, the Black Caribbean, the Black African and Black Other groups were well represented. However, there seems to be an under-representation of Asians. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the ethnic monitoring of CEED may be inaccurate for the Asian group. However, in order to make effective use of these figures, figures for all the Asian groups were amalgamated (although ethnic diversity is acknowledged) and the Asian category accounts for 19.1% of the trainees. The corresponding figure for that of Avon as a whole is 42.3%. The under-representation may be more marked for some of the Asian groups than others, however, for reasons already mentioned the data used here does not allow the determination of which of the groups within the Asian category are under-represented. Of the local population the largest Asian group was Indian and the smallest Asian group was Bangladeshi (as shown in Chapter Five)

Table 6.2: Table showing the ethnic minority population of Avon, 1991, compared to that of the percentage of previous positive action trainees

Ethnic Group	Number in Avon (a)	% in Avon	% of CEED trainees (b)
Black Caribbean	7,147	27.8	29.5
Black African	1,087	4.2	8.5
Black Other	2,725	10.6	37.1
Asian	10859	42.3	19.1
Other 'Other'	3,876	15.1	5.8
All Ethnic Groups	*25,694*	*100.0*	*100*

(a) Census 1991
(b) CEEDIS database

6.2.6 Country of Birth

The survey results show that equal proportions of respondents were born in Britain and abroad (see Table 6.3).

[21] 1991 data was used as this is what would have been largely used by CEED to establish under-representation.

Table 6.3: Table showing where the trainees were born

Place of Birth	Number of trainees	% of trainees
Abroad	32	50.8
Britain	31	49.2
Total	63	100

Base: all survey respondents

A further question was then asked to those who were not born in Britain, as to when they settled in Britain. The results for this question were that six settled in Britain in the 1960s, five in the 1970s, six in the 1980s, 11 in the 1990s and one in the year 2000 or later. Therefore more had settled in Britain pre-1990.

6.3 TRAINEE ORIGINS AND EXPERIENCE

This section goes on to explore the educational and training experiences of trainees and their labour market history prior to the traineeship. It combines the survey data and information from the CEEDIS database with detailed empirical material drawing on the face-to-face and focus-group interview findings.

6.3.1 Educational background

Experiences of school

The experience of school was explored in the qualitative interviews. The face-to-face interviews showed that overall the experience of school for some of the interviewees was not very positive. In contrast there were some interviewees who were educated abroad or partly educated abroad; their experiences of education abroad were much more positive than their experience of education in Britain.

Of those educated in Britain, some interviewees mentioned experiences of racism and stereotyping. In particular, one respondent experienced racism at school as well as 'cultural' stereotyping from his parents:

> I've thought about that to be honest and any other black child growing up in the '70s and '80s, suffering racism from teachers and pupils alike so that also conditioning thing, that life is normal, as normal as it can be. My parents have the cultural stereotype of trying to have more qualified children and I needed discipline in school but I guess because of the population of the local catchment area for that school, didn't have it. So I found where I had structured, disciplined learning within classrooms, I did well in those subjects. Where there was an element, where the structured learning or discipline wasn't there, nothing really happened and left to my own devices, I didn't really get on. It was part of growing up, I mean I can't compare it anything else. An interesting experience.

Another trainee also experienced racism at school:

> I had a difficult time at school, um, especially, at primary school as well, I experienced a lot of racism at school and generally on the streets as well, it was really quite difficult. The schools that I went to were mainly working-class white schools in working-class white areas. I experienced getting spat at and being called 'nigger'. In my secondary school the older boys, it was a school that was split, half was girls, half was boys and people used to say things like 'nigger come polish my boots' and spit in my hair. It was really traumatic, and then my secondary school became comprehensive and there was a few more black children who joined and we used to kind of stay together, hang out together. I didn't do very well at school, I left school I think with one 'O'-Level and I left school because I became pregnant.

Although her experience was not negative, another interviewee shares an experience highlighting stereotyping while she was at school:

> I went to St.George's School, I wouldn't send my children there, I haven't sent my children there. It was OK at the time, as always I think it's the same with most schools, there was more of an emphasis placed on sports than placed on you know, educational achievement, which is not the same, I think you'll find that with a lot black children. I enjoyed school, it was ok, it was ok. I wouldn't say I thought I learnt a lot.

There were some interviewees who were schooled abroad. For one in particular, although he was born in Britain, his parents sent him abroad from the age of four for his education, which he completed there right up to degree level. The reason why his parents sent him abroad was:

> Um, schooling, culturalisation, acclimatisation. My parents thought I'd benefit from the culture, from having my culture instilled at an early age. Yeah, it worked.

He continued to describe his experience as very positive, despite the lack of resources:

> Lovely, I mean it was hard work, because they haven't got half the facilities they have over here. You'd had to do research by yourself manually. There are no computers, there is no internet access, well not for the most. So you'd have to do gruelling research for things as simple as essays. It instilled a work culture in everyone, anyone who had to go through it. And I suppose you came out a stronger person, a more intelligent and a wiser person at the end of the entire programme.

There were other interviewees who were schooled partly abroad and the remainder in Britain; they described their experience of education in Britain as poor in comparison to that abroad. For example, one interviewee describes his experience of school abroad as:

> Yeah, brilliant education, better than here. Educated in state school and part private school as well. My parents were that way inclined, scrimped and saved, put me in right school, I was only seven.

He came to Britain when he was 10. However, his experience of schools in Britain was not as positive and he believes that he would have had a better education from the country in which he was born. His schooling in Britain was disturbed as the school he attended was shut down and his parents were not consulted, moreover, there seemed to be evidence of channelling him into a career he did not want:

> It wasn't very good, not in this country. In many ways I wished we'd stayed back in Jamaica, I would have had a better education there, 'cos we came to Bristol, believed in teachers, you know teachers always knew best and they suggested, you know, as a kid I went to a certain school which turned out to be a very bad school, it had a very bad reputation. Eventually, the reputation of that school was so bad, things bad were happenin' there, they eventually knocked the school down just before the exams would you believe. Didn't bother to tell kids, and just knocked the school down. But that was the way it was then. As parents, they weren't pulled in, they weren't brought in, they weren't consulted, because they were black people from the West Indies. That was the norm you know. It was only later on that families started, parents started to be consulted about what happened to, what happened to their kids at school... That had a massive effect on me. Really, you know, because there I was, I was 15-and-a-half, about to take my exams and during the summer holiday received a letter saying this school was going to be pulled down and you can transfer to another school to take the exams, but that was ridiculous. What was the other school like? Would they have the same curriculum? It was different in those days, never had SATs, it would have been a totally different situation, getting used to new kids for a very short period then straight into exams. I was offered a choice, either be a chef or be an engineer, that was my choice, I didn't want to be either.

These views were mirrored by another interviewee who had moved to Britain at the age of 11. She also felt she would have had a better education from 'back home':

> Don't know, I haven't really given it much thought, I think it's only now that I've got older that I really even think about it to be honest with you, there were too many things going on at that point, you know, moving to a new country, cold, dark and scary. All those issues I had to deal with and then the re-settlement and all that stuff, so school was not really, I didn't focus on school, I liked going to school but I suppose I can look at it from an adult perspective now and I look back and think I didn't really enjoy school as much as I should have done. I don't know, I think it's probably because it wasn't, the curriculum wasn't geared towards me in particular, when I say that I mean that a lot of the subjects I studied I didn't particularly like, so I suppose I didn't do so well as I would have done if I'd been educated back home.

Qualifications

Table 6.4 shows that of all the positive action trainees that responded to the survey, most of them had some form of qualification prior to those achieved on the traineeship. The qualifications held by the positive action trainees ranged from GCSE-level qualifications to degree-level qualifications. Almost one-third of those that undertook a PAT programme already had a degree (30.2%). Just slightly under one-in-five (19%) had an overseas qualification, which could potentially increase the number that had degrees as highlighted by the qualitative findings below. Therefore overall a higher proportion of trainees held 'higher'[22] qualifications than 'other' qualifications.

The interviews provided some more detailed information of the qualifications held by PAT trainees. Some had left school at the compulsory age, for example, one trainee said:

> I left with basic CSEs that was all.

[22] Higher qualifications are those above GCE 'A'-level or equivalent, 'other' qualifications are those of GCE 'A'-level or equivalent or lower.

Table 6.4: Highest level qualification held prior to PAT

Qualification	Number of Respondents	%
Degree	19	30.2
HNC/HND	5	7.9
BTEC, BEC OR TEC	1	1.6
Other higher educational qualification	3	4.8
A level/AS level	7	11.1
NVQ	2	3.2
GNVQ/GSVQ	1	1.6
GCSE	9	14.3
RSA	2	3.2
Overseas qualification	12	19.0
None	1	1.6
No response	1	1.6
Total	*63*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents

Another interviewee had achieved 'O' Levels:

> Oh, are they, maybe they were GCEs, something like that. Anyway I've got 3 'O' Levels, they were in really strange things like commerce.

Another said he did not do well at school, however, this trainee went to evening classes two years after leaving secondary school in order to pursue 'O' Levels in English Language and Literature:

> ... I didn't do very well at school, didn't, wasn't too interested in school... But I know I could achieve more, so I actually quietly without it be known just did my 'O' Levels at evening classes two years later, English Language and Literature and passed them, I didn't want them for anything just I was always good at English...

Several of those interviewed had degree-level qualifications; one of whom described himself as being unsuccessful in his academic qualifications at secondary level. Incidentally this interviewee experienced racism at school from his teachers, however, this did not hinder him from achieving a degree. He had achieved some CSEs, however the grades were not good enough to provide an 'O' level equivalent. He had the opportunity to participate in a vocational training course which was equivalent to 'O' Levels, which allowed him to go to college and pursue a National Diploma in Business Studies. This qualified him to go to university, where he did a Higher National Diploma (HND) and spent

another two years and gained a degree. On the other hand, another interviewee was extremely successful in achieving qualifications throughout his educational career:

> For my GCSEs I got 9 C's and above, I did quite well, I was the only lad in the whole of [city of secondary education] to get an A* in English in the ethnic minorities... The Lord Mayor acknowledged me and gave me a tie, which my folks just loved. Then I did my 'A'-levels.

This trainee had continued full-time education after his A-Levels to pursue a degree before undertaking the traineeship.

One of the interviews was undertaking a degree before he went on the traineeship, however he dropped out due to financial problems. In fact he undertook the traineeship so that he could gain a degree-level qualification.

Some of the interviewees obtained their qualifications abroad. These were degree-level qualifications and one was a medical degree. More specifically, one even had two degrees which he studied for in Pakistan; another had a degree in English Language, which he gained from a Nigerian university. One interviewee had a degree in Mechanical Engineering from Iran and prior to the positive action traineeship undertook a lower level qualification in the UK, a HND in Computer Studies.

There was one interviewee who came to the UK specifically to pursue further education:

> I came to this country in 1992 as a student. Typical story I suppose, the financier who was going to back my studies pulled out so I had to sort of raise my fees and pay for my own education from college and then university. Graduated in '98 as a mature student...

Overall as already highlighted, whilst some positive action trainees had degrees before they embarked on the positive action traineeship, others did not. This did not, however, hinder the opportunities open to them. An example from the qualitative interviews showed that two trainees applied for the same traineeship, one had a degree and the other had 'A' levels and both were accommodated:

Yeah there was one other. It was actually one position that we both applied for and they couldn't decide which one of us to take. So they managed to accommodate both of us, so they took both of us on in the same department. She'd already had a degree so she did a postgrad course.

6.3.2 Employment History

All the survey respondents were asked what they were doing immediately prior to taking on the positive action traineeship (question 3 on the questionnaire in Appendix D). According to the survey results, as shown in Table 6.5, two-thirds of the respondents were in paid employment (including self-employment) prior to taking on the positive action traineeship, 15.9% of the respondents were either in full-time education or on a government training programme, only 14.3% were unemployed and 1.6% were doing some 'other' activity.

Table 6.5: Activity prior to PAT

Activity	Number of Respondents	%
In paid work, incl self-employment	42	66.7
In full-time education	8	12.7
Government Training Scheme	2	3.2
Unemployed, registered	9	14.3
Other	1	1.6
No response	1	1.6
Total	*63*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents

The survey findings above do somewhat contradict the eligibility of a positive action training programme, which specifies that the beneficiary must be unemployed (although the rules have changed with the different funding streams). The contradiction may be due to a misunderstanding of the question in the survey or the respondents may not have included any short periods of unemployment. The qualitative data does allow for some closer analysis of the activities of the trainees prior to the traineeship. They showed that the pre-PAT programme activities varied and included being unemployed, not working due to ill-health, being in education, working full-time, as well as working in temporary

jobs. Equally the survey respondents may have had problems remembering details of their labour market history whilst completing the questionnaire. This was apparent in some of the qualitative interviews as some of the interviewees had been on the traineeship from anything up to 12 years ago, although it was less marked in the interviews as the interviewee was talked thought their labour market history in a methodological manner and most recalled the information over the course of the interview.

Prior to undertaking the PAT programme some of the trainees were unemployed. However, some of those who were not working described themselves as taking time off rather than unemployed, for example:

> No, I was unemployment for 6 weeks in my life [laughs] and that was voluntary as well. When I took a year off, I don't count that as unemployment, I took a year off from working.

Another interviewee also took time off. He was a supervisor, he felt that he could neither develop further in the role, nor in the organisation he was working for and wanted to do something more:

> Er, I took three months out of work and gave it a bit of time to have a reflection on my own life, and er, I always wanted to go into training and never saw the opportunity and obviously the things that were needed I didn't have.

There were a few interviewees who were not working but were doing voluntary work and one in particular did not describe himself as unemployed. Another reason for not working was due to sickness; two interviewees had left their previous jobs due to ill-health.

Those who were working included having jobs in a senior role in caring at Bristol City Council, a recruitment consultant, and a painter and decorator. Others had various part-time jobs or gaps in their employment due to childcare commitments. A few of the respondents had temporary jobs, such as:

> Well I was doing some part-time temping, you know agency work to survive but no full-time, no permanent kind of job.

A number of the interviewees were studying before they embarked upon the traineeship. For example, one interviewee had come from abroad was doing a course in London and updating his skills, another had been made redundant and decided to pursue a degree (however, he did not complete it). Of those who were studying, one was doing a degree at Bachelors level and the other a Masters-level. Another was at college, studying part-time and working part-time:

> Not really other than, I was working, I think the year out I had I was working in a nursing home part time and I'd always had Saturday jobs from about 15 so, but no office experience at all.

An interviewee who had just graduated was working in a temporary job while he was looking for a graduate-level job:

> I was working part time here and there and then this opportunity came along.

Periods of unemployment

The interviewees were asked whether they had experienced any periods of unemployment. Some of the interviewees had never experienced unemployment, for example, one said:

> No, no, never. I don't really find it difficult to find work.

Even if they were not working a small number did not classify themselves as unemployed, for example:

> The year that I effectively had out I'd gotten, it was just casual work that I was doing, technically I was unemployed, worked as and when they needed me and as and when I wanted to, but I was studying as well, it was a year to sort myself out and decide.

Others did experience unemployment, for example two interviewees said the following:

> I'm not really, I'm not quite sure, maybe it was five years. So yeah.

> Two or three years officially, six or seven months unofficially I would say... These would have been from about '83 right up until the time I got on the scheme really.

Some of the interviewees could not clearly recall their labour market history, for example one interviewee when asked whether she had experienced any periods of unemployed answered:

> Yeah, there must have been.

She then continued:

> Yeah I signed up with an agency, did lots of catering here and there in different places, did that for a while, I didn't do that throughout my life. At some point I would have left that and had periods of unemployment.

The same interviewee went on to say that once she was pregnant, she was 'unavailable for work':

> I don't know. I've had children, so [name of child] must have come along, I had him when I was 19, I left school when I was 16, so yeah, 3 years of agency, and some unemployment and then I had my son so I would have been unavailable for work. '77 when I had my son, anyway my son is born in '77 so from then on I would have been unavailable for work, then I had his sister in '78, so yeah, there would have been a long period of unemployment.

For those who had come from abroad, they did not suffer from long periods of unemployment. One interviewee took on unofficial employment:

> Yeah, I've never been, luckily unemployed at all since I've come to this country, doing sweat-shop stuff, underground stuff, whatever you call it. Only in year 2000 I've been given the legal right to work, but that didn't stop me supporting my education and my family and myself.

Another said:

> I wasn't getting any social benefit at all, I was just working. Never been on benefits at all.

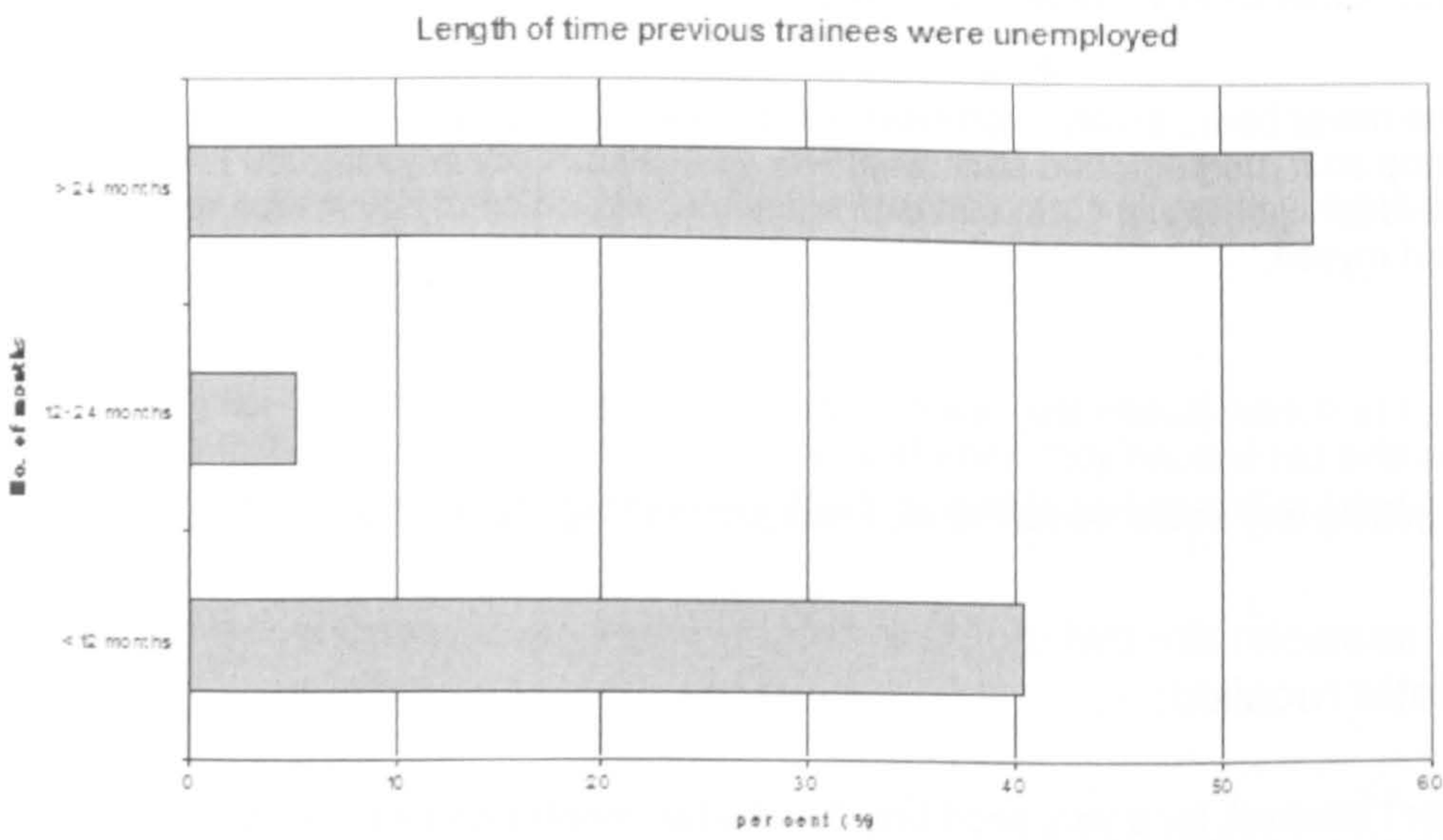
However, he later recalled:

> I had after I finished, for a very short time I had a two months on benefits after I finished in '91, finished my course, HND, it was bad time.

6.3.3 Length of Time Unemployed Prior to the PAT Programme

According to the CEEDIS database all of the previous trainees had been unemployed for at least one month prior to taking on a positive action traineeship. Two-fifths (40.4%) of the previous PAT trainees had been unemployed for under 12 months prior to starting their traineeship, only 5.2% of the trainees had been unemployed between 12 and 24 months and over a half had been unemployed for more than 24 months (see Figure 6.3). Only two of the trainees had been unemployed for the maximum length that any of the trainees had faced unemployment, this being five years (or 60 months). Therefore, over half of the CEED previous trainees were long-term unemployed (LTU) prior to the traineeship; that is, they were unemployed for more than 24 months.

Overall, of all the trainees, similar proportions of males and females were likely to be unemployed for the same length of time, although females were more likely than males to be unemployed for 24 months and over.



Source: CEEDIS database

Figure 6.3

6.4 PERCEPTIONS OF BARRIERS TO LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT

This third section focuses more explicitly on the perceived barriers to labour market participation, career development and other factors that have had an impact on participation and development. This develops the earlier discussions in Chapters Two and Three on barriers to employment and training drawing on secondary sources and other studies. The discussion here draws on a combination of survey data and qualitative data from face-to-face and focus group interviews and provides a detailed account of barriers and conditioning factors for this particular group of trainees.

By way of an initial overview the survey results show that the most cited barrier to career development was a lack of work experience, which was experienced by over a third of the respondents (35%). This was followed by a lack of financial resources (32%) and personal/domestic circumstances (29%) (see Table 6.6). Discrimination was experienced by almost one-quarter of the respondents (24%). Those who experienced discrimination were asked for a further breakdown of the type of discrimination that was experienced. 'Race' was the most cited form of discrimination experienced, followed by some 'Other' form and age. Much fewer experienced discrimination based on disability, gender and religion (see Table 6.7).

As may have been expected the survey results show that more barriers were experienced by those who were born abroad. The results found that those who were born abroad experienced a lack of work experience, a lack of information and a lack of educational qualifications more than those born in Britain. The only barrier that was reported by those who were born in Britain was discrimination. This will be explored in full below. The rest of the barriers were experienced by both groups in similar proportions.

Table 6.6: Barriers to career development

Barrier	Number of Respondents	%
Lack of work experience	22	35
Lack of financial resources	20	32
Personal/domestic circumstances	18	29
Discrimination	15	24
Lack of educational qualifications	14	22
Lack of suitable work	10	16
Lack of information	9	14
Lack of adequate wage	8	13
Cultural values	7	11
Unable to get motivated	3	5
Long-term sickness/disability	2	3

Base: all survey respondents

Table 6.7: Type of discrimination experienced

Discrimination on the grounds of:	Number of Respondents	%
Race	9	41
Other	4	18
Age	3	14
Disability	2	9
Gender	2	9
Religion	2	9
Total	*22*	*100*

Base: all survey respondents that marked discrimination
multiple responses possible

The barriers from the qualitative research in particular were explored using Berthoud's factors of disadvantage to see to what extent these were relevant to the group under analysis.

These were:

- Alienation
- Discrimination
- Family structure
- Migration
- Structure of the economy
- Stereotypes and expectations.

Other barriers were also found and these are also included below.

A specific question was asked about what barriers were faced in entering the labour market or in the labour market hindering career development. Some very specific barriers were expressed in response to this question. Interestingly, the analysis of the interviews found that a lot more barriers were apparent to each individual when revealed throughout the whole interview rather than in response to the specific question. Either these barriers were being overlooked and were seen as being unimportant or they were not realised to have stood in the way of progression. To give an example, when the question was asked specifically in an interview, one respondent mentioned the following three barriers: racism, access to opportunity and financial resources. However, during the entire interview other factors were mentioned such as: lack of confidence, geographical areas where lived, a lack of direction, and a lack of guidance.

6.4.1 Alienation

The experience of alienation was only mentioned explicitly by two respondents. They both gave examples of alienation at school; for one this was during the 1970s and 1980s, however, for the other respondent this was during the 1990s.

An interviewee described his experiences at school as not being so positive and he suffered racism from teachers and pupils alike, in the 1970s and 1980s (see Section 6.2.1 on experiences of school for further details). Alienation may have been experienced as a result of such treatment and a reason for his poor academic achievement. Another interviewee, who incidentally was not schooled in Bristol (and not from Bristol), had gone from an inner-city institution to a majority white school and found it hard to fit in. This led him to play truant and getting in trouble with the law:

> I was initially in an inner-city comprehensive and out of there I experienced a lot of anti-social behaviour and bad company. From there I took a scholarship, I think it was out of 2,000 pupils, three were non-white. I went to a boys' school and that acted as an inactive way of enhancing my education. What it actually did is it put barriers from me

> learning, I was having trouble mixing in with the rest of the school. It was basically like a private school for lads. I initially went there with the idea of gaining a better education, what actually happened is because of the social problems, I didn't excel as well as I should have. A lot of not going to school, truancy, 'chilling with the friends' as they say nowadays. Yeah, good days. Social services got hold of me and they decided my parents couldn't cope due to my mother was disabled and it was make or break time really if my results didn't improve and records from the police didn't drop, they'd be some measures taken, in other words moving me on to some other family or something like that, I can't remember what they were saying at that time.

He also had a similar experience while at university, which had consequence on his academic performance:

> While other people were doing, working with the related course, part time in estate agencies and building firms which the university would provide for them, I would have to go and work in a take-out. "Sorry, [interviewee's name] you're too late, all the places have been filled up" and I would say why wasn't I made aware that these jobs exist, everyone else was. Being one out of 35 people, I was the only Asian on that course and for people to interact with me, it was non-existent, when they would make groups, to interact with me, (pause) I would be the one, "who wants to take [interviewee's name] on". So information being passed around, it was non-existent. To go to a place back again like my school, that did affect my degree a lot.

6.4.2 Structure of the Economy

The structure of the economy and the economic climate had an impact on some of the interviewees. The recession of 1979-82 and that between the years of 1990-1992 were mentioned and the resulting difficulty in finding employment. Also mentioned was the perceived lack of strategic-level roles for ethnic minority people in the Bristol area.

The effect of the recessions made it very difficult to find employment. The state of the economy in the 1980s was referred to by one interviewee, which was a time when manufacturing was contracting. He said:

> We came out when we left school in '81 to no jobs ... there weren't many jobs, you're talking about near a time when there were three million unemployed compared to one million now, a lot of poverty ... there's no way you can get a job, you looked around at people who had good qualifications who weren't working, as I say three million on the dole and then you got the uprising in Bristol and few of the other cities, Handsworth and Brixton.

He continued to say:

> Well yeah, I was alluding to it then, it had been, well boom and bust cycle and that's what it was, potentially work, no work, unemployment, severe unemployment, bouts of no money then clearing off those debts and then getting back into the same cycle. And that went on for about ten years.

Another interviewee made reference to the recession of the late '80s and early '90s:

> It was a very bad time, recession time, '91, right of the middle of the, there were no jobs were available at all, did temporary jobs ... I had after I finished, for a very short time I had a two months on benefits after I finished in '91, finished my course, HND, it was bad time.

However, for other trainees, who were much younger and did not experience the recession years, they felt there was a lack of employment opportunities in the Bristol labour market. For one in particular this was one of the reasons why he embarked upon the positive action traineeship. Another interviewee perceived there to be a lack of opportunities for ethnic minorities in managerial and senior posts:

> I don't believe particularly in the South West there are enough opportunities or openings for strategic or leadership type of roles for black people, you can go so far. A lot of black graduates I know, who are well-qualified and skilled people who could do well in lots of different types of agencies across the South West, particularly Gloucester, Bristol, even Exeter, I've gone even further down south, have left because they've got so far and that's it, young black qualified, if you look to see where young black graduates are, they're not within strategic positions within this locality, they are elsewhere, they are out of your own town... Yeah, the further west you come from London, sometimes I accord it to the number of years we're behind London in relation to our thinking of getting black people into strategic positions.

Surprisingly the research also found that the economy also had an impact on the positive action traineeships that were available. A key informant interviewee said:

> No, I think the only factor that has really impacted is whether there is enough demand in the local area for positive action traineeships.

However, on the positive side, a different perspective was taken by another key informant in that due to economic buoyancy, this would impact the supply of potential trainees:

> I would not say hindered, we are obviously challenged by the fact there is an economic boom, we are challenged by the fact there are fewer people who may be able to benefit from positive action by virtue of the criteria that is necessary.

6.4.3 Family Structure

Family structure was not mentioned as a barrier explicitly, it was mentioned more in relation to having to earn a living in order to support a family, although childcare was a factor for the female interviewees who had children. One trainee had a child whilst on his traineeship. This meant that he had to work in the evenings in order to supplement his trainee allowance as it was not enough to support his family. He did eventually find full-time employment before his traineeship came to an end, due to his change in family situation. For another interviewee childcare was considered as an issue in relation to becoming a single parent, and only once prompted for any barriers to employment the following response was made:

> The only problem I've had with childcare was when I split up with my children's father and he refused to look after his kids, so I had to give up my job to look after them because I couldn't get it changed to part time. My employer said they needed a full-time worker, which is fair enough, that was it, so I had to give up my job and deal with my family commitments myself really.

Another female interviewee also mentioned childcare, and the inability to work every day between school hours, therefore she worked part time:

> Childcare is an issue, I'd say the most thing I find a barrier overall is that if I'd have had my way, most of all I did not want to work part time, I wanted to work every single day within school hours. They wouldn't allow it and very few employers do and I think that is really, has to be looked at. It's an issue for working women, most of all. It's that you've got a lot to give and a lot of commitment there and obviously there's financial implications with childcare. It's just so much easier if you can come into to work at 9.30 and leave at 3. I mean that's a problem, other than that, no.

Three of the women interviewed in the face-to-face interviews had children when they were young. For one it provided challenging to have a young child and study at the same time:

> I had a young child and I was studying and trying to do my assignments at 11, 12 o'clock when everybody else would be in bed.

One interviewee was asked of his family circumstances. He was raised in a one-parent family and his father was not around when he was young, but he did not put his situation down to this, he said it was not just a one-parent problem and that class was a factor:

> Um, I'll try to be as honest as I can, it has to have done, I'm not aware of where it would have done and aware where. I do believe two parents are better than one, Diane Abbott and other political commentators, Trevor Philips are talking about it. So it has to have done in a way, but those times were, and they were only 20 years ago, we had riots in the streets, miners were on strike, society, poll tax, it wasn't just a 'black' thing, it was a rich and poor struggle, it's not only class, political thing that I'm talking about, these are facts. Poll tax, people were refusing to pay, there were riots through the centre of London, miners where the police were agents of the government to do their dirty work. I suppose it must have done, certainly looking back, being politicised, my music collection, Public Enemy and the Specials are the two that stand out, UB40, some stuff they wrote about. I was a teenage father myself, perpetuating the same social discourse you were alluding to earlier and again you can see the trend going on there, my nephew the same. I imagine it must have done, I just don't know where it would have been any different for the area I was living in, it wasn't a one-parent household thing, this was a class thing, even two-parent households struggling.

Also in terms of family, it was also mentioned by one interviewee that his parents did not have much knowledge in order to provide any direction as found in the wider literature and discussed in Chapter Three.

On the other hand, a number of interviewees said that their family was very supportive of them either in their educational pursuits or their careers, such as:

> Yeah definitely, I think for the majority of black and ethnic minority people we do get that support system for our families, ok, I'll just speak for myself. We do get the support systems from our families 'cos they know the struggles in which black people have to endure in society anyway. They do wish us the best, they want us to succeed, they want us to get those top positions, earning good money, the fact that we are working in those areas, they're all for it. I've got a good support system, I've got friends, I belong to a church anyway so I get support that way.

6.4.4 Migration

As shown earlier in this chapter, the survey results show that a half of the respondents were born abroad. The interviews found that they all had very different migration reasons and histories; these included: those who had come to England to study and subsequently got married and stayed; others who came

to England when they were young to join their parents who had come to England for employment; and refugees.

Not all those who were foreign-born experienced problems in the labour market. Those interviewees who had migrated to the UK when they were young experienced fewer barriers than those who migrated later in life. One of the reasons for this may be that for those who had come to England whilst they were young, they carried out part of their education out in England, whereas those who had foreign qualifications tended to experience more barriers to employment. When a particular interviewee, who had come to England at the age of ten, was asked whether things would have been different if he was British-born, he personally felt this not to be the case as he did not have a foreign accent and most people presumed that he was born in Britain. However, he felt that there was a difference in the way people are treated if they are born abroad:

> No, for me personally no because, do I have West Indian Accent? If I don't tell someone, they won't know, so there isn't that barrier, and there is a barrier I am sure, you know that yourself between someone born here and someone who is born abroad. First people used to ask, they ask less now, where were you born? And after you've answered that question you can see a change if you were not of this country... But there is a difference, in people's minds, you're one of us, as opposed to not quite sure.

Similarly, an interviewee who came to England in his early 20s believed that he would have not faced such problems if he were born in the UK. In particular, he felt the worth of overseas qualifications were questioned in the UK. When asked: "Do you think it would have been different if you were a British-born?" his response was:

> It would have been different, a lot different. Because people just, as I said don't have time to listen to you when you're trying to explain what you've done is maybe more than 'A' Levels and less than degree, they don't have time, they're not interested. There's no trust in foreign qualifications in this country at all.

Likewise, another trainee experienced problems with overseas qualifications. She had been in touch with an organisation that give the British equivalent of overseas qualifications. They said her qualifications were equivalent to a

degree in the UK, but in getting a job, this proved difficult; she described her experience:

> I was trying to get into teaching. I don't know why because they said the Nigerian qualification was fine but then in practice they now say go and get a PGCE, contradicting themselves. I already had a degree in education so doing a PGCE is going to be like doing the same thing I did back home, so they said, no but you need work experience here, so I went to observe some classes, I went to St George's Community College to observe, just to say put it on my CV, that's ok, have participated and have assisted in teaching discipline here, but it still didn't help, I couldn't get in, there are two routes into teaching, where you do the PGCE or you get into the classroom as an assistant teacher and then you get assessed. I was trying the other route, but most of the principals were like no we want a PGCE, and it was just back and forth, I don't know how to explain it, they just sent me back and forth, I really didn't understand what it was all about.

Although none of the interviewees had numeracy/literacy problems, some did feel that their foreign accent may have hindered their career and employment opportunities. Language was particularly recognised as a barrier for one interviewee, despite the fact he had learnt English at school and at university, he still felt it hindered his opportunities:

> I knew my language was a serious barrier for my need getting through interview for normal selection procedure to get a job, they saw me and then said this is not the guy or person we probably would help us, with a kind of disability if you like. It's not exactly a formal disability but actually it is a weakness. I went for one interview as a regular, for a regular job just before I applied for this, I found that my answer was right. I answered the question correct, my language barrier really had an adverse impact on, I could see the faces. I was second in that interview...

Language is also a barrier for the medical profession. One interviewee had to undertake language examinations in order to practise in the UK.

References and contacts are also important in the labour market. A [current] trainee experienced problems as he did not have references. In fact he was a refugee and he referred to the field he was a trainee in (which remains unnamed for confidentiality reasons):

> ... if you want to work, you have to have two referees, two people as a reference, those two people, if you don't get, you know those two references then er, no matter whether you are qualified, overqualified or whatever, you will not get the job, simple.

A trainee who had come to Britain to carry out his studies and did his degree in the UK found job search difficult at first, but later found out there was a careers service at the university he attended and organisations in the voluntary sector that provided assistance. However, his experience of job search was not very positive:

> It was, yeah. I applied for a Sales Executive in Telewest. I went through three interviews and they couldn't fault me on the answers I was giving, but the things they were pointing out like, it was just like feeling of mistrust you know, why has this guy got qualifications, why is he giving this like good answers may be, questioning my national insurance number, I've never seen a national insurance number like this, I said what do you mean, oh these two letters, initial letters, I've never seen those, where did you get it and things like that.

6.4.5 Expectations and Stereotypes

Stereotyping was mainly mentioned in the context of school. One interviewee who had attended a multi-cultural school in Bristol said that a lot more emphasis was placed on sport for black children than on academic achievement. In fact, as a result the respondent pursued a sports-related course at a further education college, but did not complete the course and changed direction. This indicates the stereotype and the subsequent practices at the trainee's school led to the trainee making the wrong career choices:

> At the time I was well into sports, I was always into sports anyway. I got into college, Bath and Weston to do PE, physical education. Then I went a bit wild and decided I didn't want to do it, I didn't want to live out there and I didn't want to travel, so I didn't do that, much to the upset of my parents.

Expectations and stereotypes from parents were also mentioned. For example, an Indian respondent said:

> My parents have the cultural stereotype of trying to have more qualified children.

6.4.6 Discrimination

Different forms of discrimination were identified as barriers by the interviewees; these included discrimination on the grounds of 'race', age, religion and wages.

However, there were also some interviewees who did not want to talk about their experiences of discrimination or needed probing. Some trainees talked of experiences of discrimination of other people they knew.

Racism was only mentioned by a few of the interviewees. One interviewee in particular said he had experienced some racism, but that he would rather forget those encounters and he did not want to talk about them. Another interviewee, when the following question was posed: "In terms of experiences that may have hindered your career development or barriers that may have stood in your way, have you experienced such difficulties up to now?" she responded with the following:

> Not really, because I'm quite positive in things, I tend to find a way around whatever's trying to stop me, so I tend not to have that, maybe I have just been lucky [laughs].

This issue was returned to later and the question rephrased: "I've asked you a little bit about barriers, the research that I'm doing looks at labour market disadvantage, that's defined as unequal access to resources as a population as a whole, do you feel you have personally experienced any of these to date?" Her response this time included an example of a discriminatory situation:

> Once I'd phoned up for a job, a delivery job, I think it was delivering paint or something and I turned up at the place and they said sorry the job's gone, went home, phoned them up again and they said yeah, come on out, I said that's funny 'cos I've just been there, I thought the job was gone, oh the person didn't really know. I thought should I report them, I really can't be bothered, how far do I want to take it, I don't really want to work for you anyway. I can find myself a better job than that, keep it.

Another interviewee gave examples of similar experiences of his early employment finding activities:

> Then racism definitely, we did, there are television programmes and we used to do it. I'll do try this one, used to tout for work, casual labour, walk along the factories down at Avonmouth and warehousing, you'd go into some of them and say you know 'got any work' I would go in some and say 'no' and my friend, my white friend would walk in and say 'yeah' come back next week. We would just laugh about it, never used to walk around saying I'm going to burn the building down, it pissed me off obviously, but it was part of the territory, I wasn't something that was unusual so you just got used to that otherwise you would go mad.

There was recognition by one interviewee that discrimination or disadvantage can be present itself on different levels:

> I was talking to a friend whose doing a Masters, he used to say the same thing for women, the barriers are there, golf weekends, football weekends, all the rest of it, the barriers are still, discrimination is still taking place, it just depends which disadvantage is focused on.

In line with this viewpoint other forms of discrimination other than racial discrimination were mentioned by the interviewees; these included name discrimination, age discrimination, pay/wage discrimination, religious discrimination and sex discrimination. One interviewee had experienced a number of discriminatory practices. These included name discrimination, age discrimination, and religious discrimination:

> ... I mean slowly within a few weeks, I started to realise something, I might have to climb a bit more hurdles than a usual maybe graduate. And in my opinion it was, number one is my name, you tell them your name and say telesales jobs and stuff like that, they're not really interested in you, a couple of instances were like that. Number two, educational background, where did you do your 'A' Levels, I mean I didn't do 'A' Levels, I did BTEC National in Bristol. Where did you do your schooling, I mean I did it in Pakistan and nobody to me I felt that had time or really bothered to look into what my education was about. Was it comparable to what the students were getting here, they're just not interested, maybe just don't have time. Third was my age as well, mature student, there's a lot of competition in the open market as well. Ethnicity as well I suppose, um, I went to a few jobs, climbed all the hurdles like initial interview, application interview, second interview, third interview, those you know, these new things of having a whole day, a whole series of...

Examples of religious discrimination were also found, for example one respondent was assumed to be Muslim in an interview for employment and comments were made by the interviewer with reference to praying on Friday, a religious day for Muslims, without the respondent asking about such details:

> And then, Oh we do our meetings on Fridays and are you going to ask time for prayers on every Friday, because this is very important, this and that, then towards the end they just phoned me up, although they've literally given me the job on the interview, they rang me up and said well we've got some more quality people coming forward so I'm sorry we can't give you the job.

Although this interviewee did not pray five times a day, he did say he would like to be given the opportunity to do so. When asked if the interviewee did anything as a result of his experience, such as complain to the Commission for Racial Equality, he said no, he just carried on looking for the next job.

Cultural differences were also something that was mentioned. An interviewee felt that his colleagues would snigger at him when he respected cultural etiquette. He described a situation:

> Now when a Regional Director of [ethnic minority organisation], he's Asian, shakes everybody's hand, when he shakes my hand he tends to greet me in the Asian way, which is seen as quite offensive amongst my colleagues, because I'm differentiating from them.
>
> Interviewer: They've made that apparent to yourself have they?
>
> It's more of a physical, than a verbal. It's more of a snigger, it's more of a 'argh', one of those things. Shortly after that you'll get a Bin Laden joke, which is cheap and easy nowadays, anyway. And if I don't engage with him properly, amongst my community I'm seen as not wanting to know my own community, so there's a bit of friction.

Interestingly two interviewees who had mentioned experiences of discrimination also said that they did not put everything down to discrimination, however, for one his experience and for the other that of his friend did lead them to question this:

> I'm very, compared to my friends and people I know, very very open person, I don't label everything which goes against me as a racism or discrimination, but during those couple of incidences I did believe that was discrimination or racism or whatever you want to call it.
>
> I think there is a mix of both, it's a) a perception amongst ethnics that everything is racist, everything that doesn't go your way, you didn't get that job because I'm Asian, I didn't get that job because of this, but there's an element..., for example, a friend of mine not getting a job at [name of organisation] after having doing his placement there, he had a beard, he was Asian, post-Sept 11th, not asked back for second stage. He was the only one with experience.

There was also an example of perceived discrimination:

> I think confidence and being able to be objective about your own skills as well. I think also the way organisations, it's like how, when I was doing the mentoring scheme I was talking to my line manager and he said to me that organisations often employ middle-class white men because they're run by middle-class white men and they employ people who they know and what's familiar in a way. I think that you know as a black working-class woman I would do things in a totally different way, but it doesn't mean to say that the way I get to the end results may be different, but it may be just as effective. And I think that that can be a barrier if you don't give off signals or you don't approach problems in the same way that say a white middle-class man would, I think that can be a barrier to career development.

Interviewees were also discouraged by the experiences of others, for example:

> Hearing the experiences of other people disheartens you greatly. Hearing that people with, a chap from India who came over to [name of university] as a research student ... now he is working in a hotel in London 'cos he's not getting the breaks he should have. So similar stories, people of such quality and then if you're not up to their standard, you think look at their intelligence and their qualifications, are you going to be? Then questions arise of instead of being British, it's us and them, are they going to accept me, when it should be, will I get that job, instead of they won't give me that job. The predominate word being they.

Although he said he had not experienced anything like this himself, he continued to say:

> No, but holding that within my hold and actively going out to interviews and jobs, it doesn't allow you to function fully in interviews, and even if you're not successful on legitimate reasons, that you're basically not good enough, you will still take that with you, because of other people's experiences.

Another interviewee mentioned that although she had not experienced discrimination towards her, she had witnessed recruitment practices that were not in line with equal opportunities.

6.4.7 Other Barriers

Other barriers that were common among the interviewees were a lack of work experience and qualifications/skills. In particular, for two of the interviewees not having a degree was a barrier for them. However, they still didn't have one after traineeship, though one was working towards a degree on a part-time basis at the time of the interview. Similarly another interviewee said he lacked the opportunities for training:

> ... training and never saw the opportunity and obviously the things that were needed I didn't have ... So, there was skill shortage in my own life ... so lack of opportunity, I would say I couldn't see any career apart from using your hands and that was just to get some money.

The same interviewee continued to say that word of mouth, or networking could disadvantage those who do not participate in such activities:

> Access to opportunity back then and still is now really is in terms of knowing what the opportunities are, the old boy/girl network, that is, you wouldn't know where the opportunities are if you're talking private sector, most of the government practices are pretty good these days, you hear down the pub, I've got such and such lined up for it, if

> you don't go down the pub you're not going to find out the opportunities. If you're not in that organisation to begin with you're never going to know about them.

Finance was a barrier for some interviewees. For example, one interviewee was unable to complete his degree due to a lack of finances and then decided to embark on the PAT programme. Another interviewee also mentioned financial resources as a barrier, but in terms of economic stability and took on the traineeship in order to gain this. For another, lack of money meant he could not pursue an opportunity that did arise:

> I'd work in building all my life, never worked in an office. So thought you know, I was going to knuckle down then and definitely do something, or go back to college or something. I was going to do something. I did have one opportunity when I was about 18 to do a sports qualification with 'O' levels but I just couldn't afford it.

A lack of confidence was also experienced by some of the interviewees, for example:

> I think that, I think that I lacked confidence, I think that was one of the main things and the skills that I had, I felt really quite limited with them. I didn't feel like I had any skills at all and yeah, really, big lack of confidence as well.

Another interviewee mentioned confidence as well as the socio-economic environment he lived in as a barrier:

> Confidence would have been a thing. Living in an area like that, near where I grew up in is a stereotypical working-class area, so you kind of got used to people struggling and that was just how it was, you didn't really see far into the future or anything like that. Even the people you knew were in full-time work were in blue collar jobs if you like. So yeah, obviously my own, what I could have done in those years, I don't know. Looking back to be honest with you I didn't know where I was going basically, didn't have the foggiest. It was just to the next week or month.

The same interviewee continued to explain that:

> ... because of the background that I come from as I've told you and looking at where say friends that I know now, one of them is dead another one has gone out of his mind with drugs and alcohol, that was where if I didn't get out of it I knew what was, if I didn't, like a ship heading for the rocks, I managed to stay out of trouble for years, going through those experiences it could be just a matter of time while you don't want to take any chances.

Health was a barrier for at least four interviewees. For three of them, their health meant that they had to change career direction. They used the

opportunity of the PAT programme in order to do this. Also mentioned was a lack of guidance or direction and transportation.

It should also be noted that on the contrary some interviewees said they did not experience any barriers, for example:

> Not really, because I'm quite positive in things, I tend to find a way around whatever's trying to stop me, so I tend not to have that, maybe I have just been lucky other than myself [laughs].

Another also said she had not experienced any barriers, then reflects and 'blames' herself for not having skills:

> No, I don't think so, if I've not got into a role that I've aspired to it's probably 'cos I'm not equipped, I haven't got the skills.

6.5 ASSESSMENT OF THE PAT PROGRAMME

This section focuses on the PAT programme itself and the experiences and evaluation of the programme as reported by participants on it. Again it draws on a combination of survey and qualitative data.

6.5.1 Reason for Undertaking a PAT

Before the evaluative questions are analysed, it is necessary to see why those who embarked on a PAT programme did so. Survey respondents were asked what their reason(s) were for starting the Positive Action Traineeship (question 9 in questionnaires, see Appendix D). The results from the survey found that the respondents had varied and multiple reasons for undertaking the traineeship. Just over half (51%) of the respondents said they had embarked on the positive action traineeship in order to gain work experience, followed by 46% making this choice in order to change career. Forty per cent went on the traineeship in order to get a job whilst 38% took on the traineeship in order to acquire qualifications. Only 10% ticked 'Other'.

The qualitative data provides a more detailed account of the rationale for undertaking the traineeship. The reasons were broadly similar to those in the pre-defined question in the questionnaire. For some of the interviewees these included a basic economic need or just wanting a job, as reflected by the response of one interviewee:

> I just wanted a job, so I said ok, I'd do anything to get a job.

As already mentioned in the previous section on barriers, for three of the interviewees in particular their health was the underlying reason that meant they had to their career change direction; two of them said:

> Because I was off sick with [name of employer] and I'd only been there a few months and I wasn't entitled to full-time pay. So I needed to get a job basically at the end of the day. So there was an economic need to take on the traineeship.

> It was an interest in Law really, trying to sort of find an alternative career that I enjoyed, that was interesting and motivated me really.

For some interviewees they wanted a career change and an opportunity to gain experience in a specific field:

> 'Cos I really, I wanted to get into housing, I wanted to get in housing or some sort of social involvement basically because at the time, when I was in London I went for a job as working in a women's refugee, I just didn't have any experience, I almost got it as well, which is a bit of a joke. But I didn't have any experience or work in the sort of social sector at all, I'd only ever worked in the private sector. So that's what I wanted to do, throughout my life I just got jobs, but I really thought, I really want to do that, that's what I want to do and so that's why I went onto PATH.

One trainee in particular took on the traineeship as he saw many benefits. The traineeship gave him the opportunity to not only change careers, but to gain work experience and a qualification at degree level:

> Because I wanted to do something other than I'd done before and I didn't, only the two things. I needed to survive and I needed to get the qualification, the experience and the qualification and to me CEED was the best vehicle for doing it. I couldn't see another way of doing it. For instance I'd applied to local authority or housing association which is the field that I decided I wanted to work in. The first thing they would have asked me was what experience have you had and I couldn't have given, I wouldn't have had any, I'm sure I wouldn't have been employed. CEED gave me that opportunity of being, you know, for instance in the work environment, [name of organisation] for instance.

For some interviewees the traineeship was a route to developing a career. For them it was important to develop a career and not have just 'any old job'. For example, one interviewee said:

> You can walk around the city centre and you can walk around governmental buildings and come 7 o'clock in the morning they'll be predominately white faces, come 6 o'clock in the evening the cleaners come in and they'll be all Black, so there's things like that which I wanted to break and try to get out of.

This was the same for another interviewee:

> Well basically since I did 'A' levels, took a year out and worked in retail really and I thought time to apply yourself and I was just looking around to get a new job, something good, try and build a career and then I seen that on the mailing list and applied and I was lucky enough to get a place on the traineeship.

Another wanted a change of career, but also one that would help ethnic minorities in service delivery. Her personal experience had motivated her to pursue a career in housing and found that CEED offered opportunities for ethnic minorities specifically in this field:

> Plus I wanted to work housing, I'd actually gone to a hostel on [x] Street to talk to them about you know, how to apply for work there, and I'd gone to, I'd applied for a job at [name of organisation] as well after I'd left there and got a flat, which I didn't get. I wanted to work in housing and then I'd heard that they're going to set up positive action and they, I mean firstly they looked at the issue of housing anyway, about getting more black people employed in housing.
>
> Interviewer: Did you want to work in housing because of your own experiences?
>
> Yeah, because of my own experiences. I always lived in housing association properties and most of the people who work in housing associations are, were middle-class white people and they're providing a service not for middle-class people, you didn't have people that reflected the service users. So I thought it was really unfair and I thought that you know, that the approach was not always kind of either sympathetic or empathic, they didn't really understand the experiences of service users in a way. And I find it strange how one class feeds off another class in a way, like the middle class have careers that you know are based on the experiences or the difficulties that working-class people face and I think a lot of working-class or black people can actually find ways of providing or working together to service their own communities if they have the opportunity to do that. The training and skills or confidence building and in that way it means that people from the communities become more economically independent so that those people who do have some skills, there's less deprivation in the area and people can do things.

An additional reason for this interviewee was to have the potential to earn more money:

> I wanted to earn more money as well, you know I lived in a housing association flat and it was really a nice flat but I felt that there wasn't really any way out of where I was unless I could earn a bit more money, you know I wasn't earning very much. I just wanted to broaden my horizons, be able to travel, when you have a bit more money you can do a bit more things like that.

For those who had migrated to Britain recently, their reason for undertaking the traineeship was to gain experience in the country. In particular there was a professional refugee who had undertaken a positive action traineeship in order to gain experience, gain referees in the field and undertake the necessary language examinations in order to practise in Britain. For another, whilst she was told by an organisation that converts overseas qualifications to their British equivalents that her qualifications she gained abroad were equivalent to those in Britain, in practice she found it difficult to find a job so she decided to undertake a traineeship in the same field. Another interviewee said that he had applied for 500 jobs:

> I said this is my situation and I want to get a job. I've got skills and things but I never get my application shortlisted at all. I had 500 applications or something, I never got shortlisted.

He went on to say he took on the traineeship to simply get a job or "to get a foot in the door":

> And I said the only way I could get to a job is through this positive action training. I was happy to do a voluntary job and claim benefits or something. But when this came along and I saw the advert, then I said this is another way of me introduced to workplace and if they find me useful and probably offer me an interview after the programme. That's what happened. Exactly what happened after was two jobs they offered me, interview, I had both of them, but I preferred this one. The current one, not exactly the same work but it developed from where I started.

6.5.2 Knowledge and Understanding of Positive Action

6.5.2.1 Knowledge of what Positive Action Is

One of the striking findings of this research is that most of the respondents did not know what positive action was prior to undertaking the traineeship. This is

exemplified by the response by one of the interviewees to the question, "Did you know what positive action was before?"

> No, no I was just told that there were some training programmes at CEED and if you put your name on a database and if you put your name down on a database and if anything comes up that you're interested in they'll let you know. So I suppose I must have filled in some sort of box where you put your interests and what your experience was.

Other similar responses included:

> Er, not really, to be honest no. I just wanted a job, so I said ok, I'd do anything to get a job. But coming onto the traineeship the whole idea was explained to me, it sounded like a good idea to me, something to look forward to, something to be part of.

> No, not really.

Those who did know something about positive action, had either been informed by someone from CEED (or its predecessors) or by a friend or relative, for example:

> Well I found out more about it because I learnt that one of my cousins was on the scheme and he was also working in Bristol and I contacted him about the course to find out what it was about and he explained. But I didn't actually understand the definitions between positive action and what they actually meant. In the material which they sent through, it gave some sort of indication of what it was, I picked up a better understanding and working knowledge of what that means in practice, but at the time as a 22-year-old I never had contact with that even through my personal management training at university.

Another interviewee said he did not have any prior knowledge of positive action and learnt about it from a friend:

> No until I, one day had a chat with a friend of mine and he mentioned what positive action is.

In one case an interviewee had gained knowledge of positive action as she was doing voluntary work in the community and another trainee was aware and more familiar with affirmative action in the USA, rather than positive action in the UK:

> I had an inkling ... I was aware of affirmative action, not so much the positive action side of it.

6.5.2.2 Knowledge of why the Host Placement took on Positive Action Trainees

The positive action trainees were asked why they thought the host placement had agreed to be a host placement for the positive action traineeships. Responses to this were that the host placement wanted to widen participation, in particular in two cases it was to provide for more ethnic minority staff in training providers. One interviewee from the focus group explained that funds were made available:

> I think with me, [name of organisation] which was, its predecessor was [name of organisation] wanted to widen the participation of ethnic minorities going into their training so that was the reason for me being taken on by my original host placement which was a training provider and the [name of organisation] funded the training provider.

However, another trainee who was also funded under the same initiative was a bit more sceptical:

> The official line for myself was the insurance market is very white male, middle-class market and it was to try and inject some sort of role model for ethnic minorities, um, but I don't know how far that goes up, I imagine that's part of the reason why they did it. But the other reason I imagine would be finance and because CEED trainees are cheap.

He went on to say:

> Well, not particu...[stops], I wouldn't say they've trapped me in, in a sort of negative way but it's a fact of business and, and if you can get a member of staff to work full time for a third of the price or cheaper either, no strings attached, you haven't got to pay national insurance for them...

Other interviewees also mentioned the under-representation of ethnic minority staff:

> My understanding was that CEED or PAC, I'll just refer to it as CEED 'cos that is what it is now, CEED spoke to a number of agencies about this type of training or whatever, undertook some research, identified that considering the size of the organisation in the South West, very few black members of staff, particularly where I was worked. It's like between St Paul's, Easton and Eastville and Montpelier, you're talking about 250 staff including engineers and only one black person. Everyone travelled into that office, nobody from the local area, except one person, sorry two people had them recruited into that office base.

> I think because there was an under-representation of people from ethnic minorities in their workforce.
>
> I would assume that it's because they don't have any black staff at all and maybe they thought that was their opportunity to do that.

A minority did not know why the host placement took on positive action trainees, for example, one interviewee was not sure:

> There was a vacancy and the vacancy needed to be filled. I'm guessing.

Others were sceptical about the host placements taking on PAT trainees, for example one said that the host placement organisation took on positive action trainees because the organisation was accused of racism and also it was cheap labour:

> I thought they wanted to show us. They wanted to bring positive things because [name of organisation] was being accused of discrimination. Although they are, racism is probably just under the surface of a person sitting next to me, working years and years, racists are not very far, it's just below the surface still. Perhaps they're getting some running for it, doing the training, cosmetic surgery really, that's the best way I can put it in. The people they bring they don't, some of them didn't, never get a job, it's difficult, training was very feeble, didn't have any substance to the training they give at a placement. They used people, everybody I know they really used them. They were cheap labour. There was no schedule really for training...

One trainee thought the host placement took on trainees to simply increase the proportion of ethnic minorities in their organisation. However, this was almost representative of the local population and he was sceptical of such an initiative in the organisation he was placed at:

> I made a statement once when I was at [name of organisation] at the end of it, I don't know if it's the reason why I couldn't get a job with [name or organisation] [laughs]. We're all sitting down, some of the managers and they were talking about percentages, quotas and I said "well yeah, you probably won't be employing any more CEED trainees now will you because you've got your six per cent haven't you" [laughs]. They'd reached their quota of whatever, ethnic people within the organisation. So I said that and everyone stopped and starred, which I thought was wrong, I don't think it should be a question of cultures, I think if someone's good, you know, qualified enough, whether it's six per cent or seven per cent, if it's six per cent that their limit is, you know the percentage of the population but they've got seven per cent in of ethnic minorities, what's the difference. It shouldn't be a question of what percentage is or whatever.

Less scepticism was shown by another interviewee who said positive action was an initiative that a manager had encouraged the policy division to undertake after working in London with asylum seekers.

6.5.2.3 How the Respondents Heard about Positive Action

Due to the lack of knowledge about positive action for some trainees, it was important to find out where participants had found out about the traineeship or CEED. The survey of positive action trainees shows that the most common sources of information about the traineeship were from an advertisement in the newspaper, word of mouth and CEED publicity. Almost one-third of the respondents had heard about the traineeship from an advertisement in the newspaper, followed by one-quarter from their family or friends and almost one-quarter through CEED publicity (see Table 6.8 below).

Table 6.8: A table showing how the survey respondents heard about the traineeship

Source	Number of Respondents	(%)
Newspaper	20	31.7
Friend/family	16	25.4
CEED publicity	15	23.8
General inquiry at CEED	6	9.5
Other ethnic minority organisation	4	6.3
Other	2	3.2
Total	63	100.0

Base: all survey respondents

Whilst the survey showed that the highest proportion of positive action trainees found out about the traineeship through the newspaper, the qualitative interviews found that word of mouth was also an important source of information of the PAT programmes. The interviews showed that while some of the positive action trainees found about CEED from the newspaper, for example:

> I think it was just adverts in the newspaper. Just picked up through the newspaper.
>
> I think I saw an advert in the paper.

I'm not sure, I think it was an *Evening Post* advertisement I saw.

For others, word of mouth was an important source of information about the traineeships or CEED; this was either from a friend or a member of the family, for example:

> Yeah, I knew of them many years before, through my sisters, they'd been through the process. I'd been to the place the previous two or three years going to see what sort of courses they offer, general, just being nosey really, just general looking really and seeing what was what.

In fact two trainees found out about CEED by word of mouth whilst they were living in London:

> A friend of a friend of friend told me in London.

> I wasn't in Bristol at the time, I was in London, but I think I'd heard about it in London, there was PATH that was happening in London, I really wanted to, when I was in London I decided I really wanted to get into social housing or working in a women's refugee, I was really interested in that. And this was my way of getting involved in that, so I hadn't heard too much and my sister, that's right, my sister had told me about it. She was thinking about doing it, we did it together.

Similarly others knew of CEED as they were involved in the community as two examples below show:

> My wife still works in the voluntary sector and she started to look for things and she brought this pamphlet from CEED.

> Because if you live in a community, people tell you.

And a few of the interviewees were on the CEED mailing list:

> I found out about CEED or the traineeship, I'm on their mailing list, so um somebody said to me oh just put your name down on the mailing list, they always come up with traineeships every so often.

> I was on the mailing list from when it was PAC.

6.5.3 Details of the Programme

The survey results showed that the majority of the traineeships (70%) were for the duration of two years. Almost one-quarter (24%) were for one year; 5% were for less than one year and 2% were for some other duration. The qualitative interviews showed that although most of trainees completed their traineeships, some did leave early to pursue full-time employment.

As shown in Table 6.9 over half (57.1%) of the respondents were placed in a host placement that was either a local authority or another public sector organisation. Over one-quarter (28.6%) were at a charity/voluntary organisation/not-for-profit housing association and only a little over one in ten (11.1)% at a private company. Of the total respondents over a third (38%) were placed within the housing sector, be this within a local authority setting or housing association, whilst the remaining, just over three-fifths (62%) of respondents, were in some other sector.

Table 6.9: Organisation Type of Host Placement

Type of Organisation	Number of Trainees	%
Private company	7	11.1
Local authority or other public sector	36	57.1
Charity/voluntary organisation/not for profit	18	28.6
Other	1	1.6
No response	1	1.6
Total	63	100

Base: all survey respondents

The titles of the traineeship were varied and depended on the field they were training in. Some examples included 'Trainee Housing Officer', 'Trainee Administrative Officer', 'Trainee Supervisor', 'Finance Trainee', 'Trainee Personnel and Training Officer' and 'Trainee Training and Development Assistant'.

As for the ethnic make-up of the host placement, Table 6.10 shows that over half of the respondents were at host placements where the ethnic minority make-up was less than 5% (54%); just over one-fifth were at host placements where over 10% of their staff were ethnic minorities; and 9.5% of respondents were placed at the host placements where they had between 5-10% of ethnic minority staff. 12.7% of the respondents did not know what the ethnic minority make-up of the staff at their host placement organisation was.

Table 6.10: Ethnic make-up of host placement

Percentage of ethnic minority staff at the host placement	Number of respondents	Percent
Less than 5%	34	54.0
5-10%	6	9.5
Over 10%	14	22.2
Don't know	8	12.7
Total	62	98.4
No response	1	1.6
Total	*63*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents

6.5.4 Views about the Traineeship

This sub-section looks at the useful aspects of the traineeship, the problems during the traineeship and the strengths and weaknesses of the traineeship.

6.5.4.1 Useful Aspects of the Traineeship

Overall the respondents were positive in their evaluation of the programme. The figures below show that the survey respondents were very satisfied with the PAT programme. 82% strongly agreed or agreed with the comment that the training they received was useful in relation to their career aspirations; 91% strongly agreed or agreed that the work experience was useful in relation to their career aspirations; 83% strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that the qualifications they gained were useful in relation to their career aspirations.

Very few respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with these comments (see Table 6.11).

Table 6.11: Trainee views about the traineeship

How far do you agree with the following comments:	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
The training I received was useful in relation to my career aspirations	44	38	3	5	0
The work experience was useful in relation to my career aspirations	51	40	5	2	0
The qualifications I gained were useful in relation to my career aspirations	46	37	8	3	1
I felt supported by my Training and Development Officer	30	43	18	3	5
I felt supported by my supervisor at my placement	38	32	21	6	2

Base: all survey respondents

Similar percentages were found with the support they received from CEED and from their host placement. In particular, 73% strongly agreed or agreed that they felt supported by their Training and Development Officer (TDO), and similarly 70% strongly agreed or agreed that they felt supported by their supervisor at the host placement. Although few disagreed or strongly disagreed with these comments, many more neither agreed nor disagreed to these last two comments (18% and 21% respectively for the comments mentioned).

Table 6.12: Trainee views about the PAT experience

How far do you agree with the following comments: My experience as a CEED(or PATH/PAC) trainee:-	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
made it more likely for me to get a job	44	40	8	6	0
made it more likely for me to get a job that I really wanted	32	44	14	8	0
furthered my career development	51	37	8	2	0
helped me get the qualifications I wanted	29	33	16	13	2

Base: all survey respondents

Again, overall the survey respondents were positive about their experiences as a trainee and the likelihood of getting a job, getting a job that they really wanted and furthering their career development; 84%, 76% and 88% respectively strongly agreed or agreed with these comments (see Table 6.12).

A lot fewer, though still over a half of the respondents (62%) strongly agreed or agreed with the comment that their experience as a trainee helped them get the qualification they wanted. In fact 15% of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with the comment and a further 16% neither agreed nor disagreed.

The qualitative data shows all of those interviewed found the traineeship or aspects of it useful. Even if problems were experienced they still had positive things to say about the traineeship or some elements of it. A glowing response of the traineeship was given by one interviewee as he felt he had been given a second chance. He said it was the first time he had been given such an opportunity. He compared his life with that of his peers and what he had escaped from. He said one of his friends is dead and others have drug/alcohol problems:

> I became quite evangelical about my training as a basically a second chance to get out of the poverty trap that I was in, so yes of course you were an extra pair of hands, that was fine as far as I could see, that's the price I get training, the organisation is paying money for you, you have to make the opportunities for yourself, no one's going to give them to you. So there was that side of it, but I was never felt, made to feel like that. For the first time in my life I was given support and guidance and encouragement that I could actually do something, as I said I was never made to feel that way. I had a full programme.

Another also said that the traineeship was a life-changing experience:

> I just, I mean I find it, personally I found it very helpful, it was almost life changing an experience and not just because of CEED but because of all the kind of things that it brought together and all the support that I got, from you know different people, from my counsellor, from my friend. It helped me change quite a lot and you know, be more confident and actually get a job. I was quite mature really and it was the first job that I really had, yeah I thought it was really positive. I suppose for me it's lots of personal development issues needs to be recognised, but it's, but it's how do you transform yourself.

Overall the traineeship was found to be very useful and a number of positive comments were made, such as:

Loved it!

It was very useful. The place was quite good and my manager was quite friendly and I really liked the way he supported me and things like that. It's just basically like tagging me along whatever they're doing, wherever they're going and you just sit and learn if you can and maybe participate a little bit, so that was quite good.

... I enjoyed every moment of it.

I was lucky 'cos I worked for the [name of the organisation] and I worked at [name of organisation], they were brilliant, I got wonderful training.

Even though some of the interviewees experienced some problems (which will be discussed in the following section) they still had positive comments to make; for example, one interviewee said she had experienced boredom during her traineeship at the host placement organisation, but despite this, she made the following positive comments about the traineeship:

> ... it helped me get the job that I'm in now. So I suppose to a degree it has done, it was good experience, a very good place to start really.

More specifically certain elements were found to be particularly useful, for example, being able to apply the theory learnt at college or university at the work placement. Most of the trainees found the college course useful and relevant to the work experience they were doing, for example:

> Yes it was useful [laughs], it allowed me to consolidate what I'd learnt at university without actually realising that was actually what I was doing. It opened me up to new opportunities and new ways of work, there is one thing about being at work, at university and studying and then coming into a work, office environment and processing those skills. You could see a difference in relation to way people treated you in relation to what you're doing.

Moreover, the combination of on-the-job training and college course was found to be a useful aspect of the traineeship:

> So you're getting sort of both sides of it, rather than just going to uni or college or whatever or just working...

However, others mentioned either one or the other. Particular reference was also made specifically to the ability to undertake a college course, for example:

> That aspect was very enjoyable, going back to school.

Whist many others mentioned the placement as being useful, such as the two extracts from interviews below show:

> I did enjoy my on-the-job training.

> Yeah, the work experience, you're working with the host placement, you're doing the job day in day out, it's not day release, you're doing the job, you know five days a week.

The importance of a good host placement was also recognised, one interviewee in particular said that the traineeship is only as good as the host placement organisation as you spend most of the time was spent there. Another useful aspect of the traineeship was the trainee forum, as two interviewees expressed:

> But I enjoyed it while I was a trainee. I enjoyed the ability to have one day off a week and go to the forum, trainee forum [laughs] to meet up and link up with other trainees, that was useful, to sort of share ideas and information with other people. And learn from each other 'cos there may be things that I wasn't accessing in my traineeship and other trainees may have been, it's about sharing information, so it was good for that.

> Yeah, yeah, I did find it useful. But it was a point where we were able to just sit down and just have a voice really. I think that was really important to feel comfortable with each, that we were all endeavouring to achieve similar things. You know, although people were different, we'd had similar experiences in that and that we'd suffered racism and come from similar cultural backgrounds, so it was quite easy being with each other. And we were able to talk about our placements as well and what we were experiencing.

Most of the interviewees also found the specialist skills training very useful. A selection of comments about the specialist skills training included:

> What with the application, all through that process, with the application, interviewing skills, we did presentation skills. You don't suddenly know how to do a presentation, well you can, some people, if you're really gifted, but generally there's a way to do it and we learnt presentation skills, application forms, interview skills all those things, so it absolutely equipped me. I would not have got that job or been in a position; it would have made it quite difficult for me.

> The training given by PAC was more useful than the training given at the placement.

> Racism and presentation skills were very useful to me because they opened my eyes to a lot of factors. I had to deal with people on a day-to-day and on a one-to-one on most days, are part of my daily duties. They are aspects that I overlooked generally.

> Yeah, it was useful, yeah, there were things which were er, I think help me in my work now, just sort of being organised with my time and also being able to relate to people a lot better in a work environment. Good skills to take with you.

6.5.4.2 Problems during the Traineeship

Whilst most of the respondents were positive about their experience of different aspects of the traineeship, a few problems were expressed in the interviews. Whilst most of these problems were isolated cases, a small number were shared experiences. The problems ranged from basic issues such as, settling into the host placement organisation to more serious problems such having to challenge racism. In particular, those who had traineeships in-house at CEED felt they were sometimes being overlooked.

Some trainees experienced racism either towards them or in their presence. One trainee in particular experienced racist comments made at the host placement, although the comments were not directed at him personally, they were made in his presence. He described his experience:

> Oh yeah, there were a number of incidences where I had to challenge people for their racist language towards black people and their assumptions about black people within the organisation. You know, subject to racial comments, my more senior manager on-site was sat there and his colleague was sat there talking to him, where have you got a new position? Oh it's in Dudley somewhere, oh it's full of Pakis there, didn't challenge it, didn't do anything about it.

This was said by the interviewee's mentor; although he saw that the trainee was sitting there, he did not apologise until the issue was raised by another manager:

> Yeah, the chap who'd said it, I'd noticed how I was being very curt with him, but he was embarrassed to approach me about it and then I raised it with another manager and he took the bull by the horns, called him in, called me in, sat me down and we talked about it and this guy was very apologetic. This other chap I worked with was very, very supportive, said I'm going to deal with it here.

He also described other examples of stereotypical comments that were made by employees at the host placement:

> Yeah, something like, I remember where engineers had cut up somebody in St Paul's, a black man who came in, chasing them, trying to sort of make them apologise, there was a big who-ha because everybody in the office could see what was happening in the window, so I got the guy to move away and I came back inside. One of the senior mangers who was on the engineering side was talking to his friend, said he's a drug dealer, I said how do you know he's a drug dealer, look he's got jewellery and mobile

> phone, why else would he have jewellery and mobile phone, he's gonna get all his drug dealer friends from St Paul's in a minute. I said to him, what the f'in hell are you talking about, half your engineers in there have got mobile phones, does that make them drug dealers, look at the jewellery on the engineers, does that make them drug dealers, I'm not listening to this racist crap and walked off.

Another trainee experienced racism towards him from the clients he was serving at the host placement:

> Yeah I had a bit of racism from clients, not as much as I thought I was going to get. A couple of incidents.

These issues were dealt with by the host placement in the form a letter from the management to the client.

Two trainees said they were often bored and said they frequently had nothing to do; one of them felt that work was being by-passed to other non-positive action trainees in the organisation:

> There I found that one section in particular I was bored simply because I wasn't being given anything to do and through my supervising officer, who was the Deputy County Solicitor, I found she was sending me work down for me to do, but it wasn't actually getting to me, the Team Leader was sort of intercepting it and passing it on to their Trainee Solicitors, so I was sort of spending a lot of time bored and weren't particularly happy there.

One trainee mentioned that she felt she was being treated differently at college because she was a positive action trainee:

> I didn't like going to [name of institution] I had a few experiences there where I questioned how I was being treated, possibly because I was maybe a positive action trainee. Things like getting low grades and things, I don't know if I should admit this on tape. There was one occasion where I'd done my homework, it was in economics, graphs and various charts and things to do. A subject I didn't really like, and I think I had to work hard at it because it weren't areas that I was particularly interested in and there were two other girls that I was friendly with... Yeah. I'd done my work sort of on computer, hand-drawn the graph different colours and everything, got into college the day it was to be handed in and because I had charted mine up on the PC I approved them to copy my chart, which I didn't have a problem with that, because mine was neater than what one girl had done and the other girl hadn't done anything, so they literally just photocopied my work and the other girl hadn't done the chart at all. So I did it for her, before handing it in, in pencil, just copying it from mine, and then when we got the grades back on the assignments for what was exactly the same work, mine were lower and obviously you can't really say excuse me we cheated [laughs], but I did the work. It sort of raises questions as to for exactly the same work, why were grades lower and I found that I was, my work was under-marked a lot of the time.

One interviewee had felt he was no longer learning. He had more than six months left of his two-year traineeship and he felt that it was a waste of money and that somebody else could take this opportunity. However, he did not want to leave the traineeship as there was a strong possibility of being employed by the host placement organisation after the traineeship:

> The first year was really good, I learnt a lot, um, I did quite a lot of qualifications in the first year so there was quite a lot of self-development, I think after that I think that I don't know if the placement was surprised at the speed in which I progressed or if they just ran out of things to do. It seemed to almost hit a brick wall and I then began to feel like I was purely there as an employee as opposed to a trainee, um, which has its benefits because you're treated like an employee like everyone else ... I just think that it's a waste of government money myself, it's a moral issue more than anything else, it's also the fact that I don't get the benefits that a regular if you like employee would get.

For another trainee, however, her host placement organisation went into liquidation. This was an uncommon experience and therefore she was accommodated at CEED; although this was appreciated by the trainee, the experience at CEED was not directly the same as that she was training for at her original host placement.

6.5.4.3 Strengths of the Positive Action Traineeship

The survey of positive action trainees asked an open-ended question about what the trainees thought were the main strengths of the traineeship in relation to their own needs and experiences. The responses were varied and some included a number of strengths. Of the main responses, one quarter of the survey respondents said that on-the-job training/work experience was a strength of the traineeships. A further 16% specifically mentioned the support from their TDO as being a strength. The qualifications gained during the traineeship were also considered a strength of the traineeship (by 11% of the respondents). Another strength mentioned was that the traineeship would lead to better opportunities and/or better jobs in their desired field of employment (13%). The strengths were further explored in the qualitative interviews. The interviewees were asked for three strengths of the traineeship, although some gave more than three. The strengths were varied and the most common included the

traineeship itself as an overall package, the work experience element, the ability to undertake a qualification, specialist skills training and support. One interviewee said that one of the strengths of the traineeship was that everyone benefited from it, that is, the individual as well as host placement organisation. Each strength will be looked at in more detail.

Opportunity to pursue traineeship

A key strength mentioned by several trainees was the opportunity to carry out the traineeship. It was seen as a unique opportunity, not knowing what they would do otherwise. Furthermore, it was tailored to meet their needs. A number of quotes from different interviewees reflect this:

> It was the opportunity basically, was a massive strength, it was an opportunity that you wouldn't have had previously.

> I think for me it was done quite well because the traineeship was tailored to meet my needs really.

> I think there's a lot of strength within CEED... I think CEED, the CEED concept is a brilliant concept. Where else would someone like me get that experience, get this opportunity? Where else? Who could I have gone to for that? I couldn't.

> That's a BIG strength that the traineeship exists in the first place and I was able to get onto one and a good one, not just any old traineeship, 'cos [name of the organisation] was a good placement.

The traineeship was also seen as opening up opportunities:

> So it's the opportunities it opens.

The fact that the traineeship increases ethnic minority representation in the workforce was also seen as a strength by trainees:

> To get agencies that would not otherwise seek, actively seek BME [black and minority ethnic] participation. The second I would say is to initiate awareness amongst the BME sector, that is opportunities in better places than working for cleaning services in the South West and offer them something else to go for.

Work experience

Another key strength of the traineeship and one of the most frequently mentioned was the work-experience element of the traineeship. In particular this was in fields they wanted to pursue a career. Hands-on experience was valued and seen as being important, as shown by a number of quotes from different interviewees:

> The ability to get hands-on involvement, that's most definitely a strength.

> Valuable experience in terms of work and relating with people that you've got absolutely nothing in common with.

> ... the opportunity to get knowledge of the working environment; I think that's very important because the whole point of the traineeship is to get a job at the end of it. To me that's one of the most important aspects.

> It gives you hands-on experience of the field, I mean the best way to learn is to do the job and that's what the main strength is.

In particular, one trainee who recently came from abroad valued the work experience element as it would give her exposure to the work environment in this country:

> ... the work experience at the end of the day, 'cos every country's different and the culture, work culture's different. So for me this is the most, 'cos most of the things I'm doing, I've done it before, but it's just a different environment now and to learn how to you know, work in this environ-[stops], culture, the way they work here.

Qualification

Another frequently cited strength was the opportunity to carry out a qualification during the traineeship. Qualifications were on offer at all levels suiting the needs of the trainees. Two interviewees expressed the following views:

> For me that opened up my academic side and I really wanted to take that on further.

> The main sort of component of the package for me was a chance for further education. I asked them, they said that you will be able to go to a day release to a college course and stuff and I told them, it's no good for me, would you be willing to fund me to a post-graduate course and they said yes, so that was the clinching one for me.

Structure

Other strengths were related to the fact that the traineeship was a structured programme. One interviewee described her traineeship as "well organised and well managed". More specifically structure was referred to as the traineeship was an opportunity to gain substantial work experience at a host placement and day release at college/university in order to gain a qualification. An example:

> Number one is structure, the fact a of year's placement, day release then the organisation [name of host placement], I had a period with each team within the office...

The fact that both work experience and a qualification was being obtained simultaneously was mentioned in the focus group:

> So you're getting sort of both sides of it, rather than just going to uni or college or whatever or just working.

Moreover, the combination of the work experience and being able to pursue a qualification was an opportunity to apply the theory learnt at university/college at the host placement:

> My opportunity to sort of in-bed academic understanding of the business environment is one, getting the work experience that I needed as a graduate, the opportunity to do further education on a part-time basis.

One interviewee said the discipline of the traineeship was a strength:

> Discipline, we had to behave like a regular or proper employee. Every day going to work at the same time they do, exactly the same procedure they follow. That was very good, not being a trainee and then don't care to go to work today, you couldn't do that. Also good discipline in college, they will phone CEED what you're doing, keeping an eye in a way that's helping you.

Specialist skills

A number of trainees mentioned specialist skills training as a strength. They said their confidence had increased as a result of the traineeship as well as other skills:

> Confidence, well confidence up to the level of being able to supervise others, I used to just love working on my own, but know I can actually work in a team, within a team, supervise a team and still work on my own.

Another interviewee mentioned learning skills such as presentation skills and interview techniques as a strength of the traineeship.

Funding

Although the trainee allowance was not mentioned, funds for things like counselling sessions and driving lessons were well received.

Support

Several interviewees mentioned support as a strength of the traineeship. Interviewees mentioned the different sources of support that were available during the traineeship, this included support from TDOs, fellow trainees, particularly in terms of the time and opportunity for the trainee forum. One interviewee summed this up:

> I mean in a supportive environment I think, that's really quite supportive, the positive action traineeships.

She continued to say, with respect to other trainees:

> I think it is really important, I think for me, because there was quite a number of us that did the traineeship, there must have been about 20 people doing different things in housing from surveyors to housing officers to development workers and we actually did different workshops together, say on confidence building or recognising your skills or team building and so, that, being in that group, we actually learnt things together and were able to have a voice as well. I think it's not always easy for people to go into an environment where there's, you know like you go to university and there's a lot of white people and sometimes, well for me, I didn't feel very confident, but in the environment of, em, within like the workshops and there was other black people that I knew from the community I felt like I was able to have voice, just to be able to speak up, I think that was really quite important. To be able to share experiences, obviously we were all not the same, but we often did have similar experiences and you do feel quite a minority, you know, when you kind of, in white institutions. Well I personally always felt a minority and find it quite difficult really.

The same interviewee continued to say that all-round support was a strength:

> From trainees, from, you know, from [name of TDO], from the organisation I was working in, they were really supportive, from UWE, you know from the tutors there. Um, [name of trainee], who was on the course. And other students were supportive as well. I think support is really important and I think, just the kind of time that we were able to spend away from the work, the placement and away from college looking at issues, issues around racism, you know external and internal, about confidence building, about working for organisations' expectations, presentation. I think that was really important.

Other trainees also considered the trainee forum as a strength:

> The forum I thought was a strength, was a good one. Having that space there because it gave us an opportunity, because you come onto a programme as a trainee, you need to have some sort of support mechanism where you can chill out and you can say look I'm having this problem or I'm doing it this way, what do you think and have that opportunity and to hear other people's, 'cos you had trainees coming from different organisations as well different areas of training so that space was useful.
> The relationship with other trainees, it was so close and friendly and you would get the experience they had and other things they could advise you in gathering times. We had regular meetings with other trainees.

Access to jobs/information about jobs

The possibility of a job after the trainee was with the host placement employer was also referred to as a strength of the traineeship. In fact some ex-trainees were employed by the host placement, although they had to apply for the posts in open competition:

> But being with the placement you have one advantage, the people who were placed at city council, they were able to apply jobs with [name of organisation]. Every time vacancies comes up with [name of organisation], there's two types of vacancies, one is for inside, only [name of organisation] employees can apply for those jobs, the other sort is that those anybody can apply for outside [name of organisation]. So the sort of jobs the trainees were going to get they were only advertised in [name of organisation] and people who are only working for [name of organisation], only those people could apply.

> But mine is just a two-year contract and that's it really, if an opportunity come you can apply for it, but there's no guarantee.

A current trainee thought that he would be employed at the host placement organisation after his traineeship:

> I think that in their mind they definitely might keep me on, because there're, I mean it's a team of six of us, someone left the other day so there's only five of us now, and they have invested in me for 18, 19, probably even nearer 20 months now.

A trainee who had just completed his traineeship and was employed by the host placement comments complying with proper procedures:

There was an issue of equal opportunities so they had to advertise the post.

6.5.4.4 Weaknesses of Positive Action Traineeship

The weaknesses of the traineeship were also asked about in the survey. Whilst the support of the TDO was considered as a strength for some trainees, others said that one of the weaknesses was not being able to get in touch with their TDO. In total, 11% of the survey respondents made negative remarks about TDOs. The amount of the trainee allowance was considered a weakness by some of the trainees, in particular 11% said it was inadequate. The weaknesses mentioned in the interviewees were varied and although there were many, they were not mentioned by more than two people for any one weakness.

Before the weaknesses are presented it should be noted that at least three trainees had no weaknesses to report. For example, one interviewee in particular felt there were no weaknesses of the traineeship and she had a very positive experience:

> I just, I mean I find it, personally I found it very helpful, it was almost life changing an experience and not just because of CEED but because of all the kind of things that it brought together and all the support that I got, from you know different people, from my counsellor, from my friend. It helped me change quite a lot and you know, be more confident and actually get a job. I was quite mature really and it was the first job that I really had, yeah I thought it was really positive. I suppose for me it's lots of personal development issues needs to be recognised, but it's, but it's how do you transform yourself?

Another felt the same and gave the following response:

> Yeah I am very positive, but you've got to remember where I was coming from, the places where I worked at I got into fist fights, getting called 'nigger' and black bastard and all the rest of it, so people just treat me with decent respect and dignity made a hell of a difference. Which I can understand where a lot of people moan, as I say some of the places I'd worked at, what happened where you were then seen as the aggressor and end up getting sacked, it happened to me and has happened to my friend... I mean I was really valued.

For those that did experience weaknesses these included a lack of support, tokenism, a lack of structure, qualifications, confusion over the terms positive

action and positive discrimination and the trainee allowance. These are discussed in full below.

Lack of support

As mentioned by some respondents in the survey, lack of support was also expressed as a weakness of the traineeship by some of the interviewees. Although the support from TDOs and placement supervisors was mentioned by some of the interviewees as a strength, equally there were others who said that this was a weakness of the programme. For example, one interviewee said:

> The lack of support by the placement supervisors...

More specifically other interviewees complained about the turnover of TDOs and the communication of information. Some said they did not receive the relevant information until it was time for reviews and if there was to be a change of their TDO, they were not informed of this beforehand:

> Basic information, I never received anything until it was time for reviews. Or people will assume, like when my TDOs were changed initially no one told me until I got to the review and I saw someone else and I told oh hello, what are you doing here, and they're like so and so is no longer your TDO and I'm thinking that's not on.

Some trainees also felt that they did not have a voice and were treated with a lack of respect, as one interviewee said:

> And another thing also, another weakness I'd say, the traineeship, the programme and I'd say the organisation they need to figure they are dealing with people, individuals. Now you're telling people you're going to help them into employment, help them get on track or whatever they want to do, you know get a new lease on life, but in the process they undermine a lot of things, your self-respect isn't important in some aspects because I've seen trainees, they're treated like school kids and me being one of them and I look at them and I tell myself this isn't on, this isn't high school you don't do this to people.

One interviewee said that during his traineeship fellow trainees would talk to him about their problems as they lacked the confidence to bring up these issues themselves:

> The fact that theoretically that you're supposed to have support behind you, if you're in a situation, I knew many trainees who felt that weren't supported and that was such an

important aspect to them. During that two years I spoke to a significant amount of CEED trainees, a lot of them who'd never made a ripple, never said a word about it, not to CEED because they felt that there weren't the support there or they felt that CEED couldn't have done anything because they were in an environment where they were controlled by the managers in that environment. They felt that they were powerless and all they wanted to do was to put their head down for two years or however long it is, get on with the job, squeeze out as much out of it as possible, out of the process, as much knowledge as possible while keeping their head down and come out of the end of it with enough qualifications so that I can go away from that environment and get a job. I personally don't think that's right.

Tokenism

Tokenism or feeling like an extra pair of hands was mentioned as a weakness of the traineeship. One interviewee said:

> ... and the feeling of being marginalised at times and being perceived as a token. I was a token in some respects, of course I was in some respects, but I think they could have done more to welcome trainees into the workplace.

Another trainee had a similar experience:

> I got into [name of organisation] the first thing they said to me, right, extra hands, for the next couple of weeks your going to be answering the phone. Fair enough, that's part of the process, you're learning. But it wasn't so many weeks or whatever doing that. It was simply well we're short here, we're short there, oh by the way we have nobody to do that. I must admit I went back to CEED after a period and said look, should I say this, yes why not, why not, um for me for me the support was not there. CEED wasn't there, CEED was going through a bit of a process themselves at that period, whether it's the same now, I don't know.

One trainee also said she felt she was seen as being less intelligent by the host placement and college provider:

> I sort of seemed to get the impression that people didn't think that I had a brain, I don't know whether that was mainly because they were aware of the fact that I was positive action training. It was like I need a bit of help. It wasn't actually until I was doing work. They were quite shocked at the things I did, I was like why are you so shocked? ... I think that's the difficult thing, the fact that everybody knew that you were a positive action trainee and I think that did possibly affect me and the perceived ideas that people had about me.

Other trainees felt that the host placement took on the trainees because they were being accused of racism and one in particular felt the trainees were cheap labour. He continued to say that the host placement he was placed at took on trainees to gain 'brownie points'. He also said another weakness of the traineeship was that they could not apply for jobs within the host placement

organisation, although this changed after action from CEED, however, these jobs were not recruited as management trainees despite some of the trainees holding degrees, such as the interviewee who mentioned these weaknesses:

> Well with the supervisor who does the programme, because they were not really interested you know, they took trainees to have brownie points, with minorities, or that we are giving positive action, we are taking those people and training. When we finished training there was no such thing that we could apply for jobs within the city council. It was only after [name of CEED personnel] fought very hard for it and eventually it became available. Because we trained with housing with [name of organisation], we should be allowed to apply for a job with the [name of organisation]. All of us who trained, I think we got a job at the bottom of the pile stock, that's literally that's what we all started. Everyone here who got a job, they didn't get in as a management trainee or manager in housing, even estate management, we started at the bottom, the repairs, what they used to call them, area officers level 2,3,4.

However, that said, for one interviewee even though it was recognised that he might have been a spare pair of hands, he welcomed the fact he was gaining experience, although it did appear that his host placement was particularly supportive of this trainee:

> All the staff knew why I was there and they were behind me 110% until the day I left... However, but during my time at [name of organisation] I was never sort of seen as a trainee anyway... But I was training and I think the staff were really supportive and it got to a point where people forgot I was a trainee, I wasn't treated like a trainee... I was totally involved as if I was an employee of [name of the organisation].

Similarly, another interviewee said that although she was doing the same work as those employed she was respected by those she was working with at the host placement:

> I mean I was really valued as a member of staff, not as a member of staff as a trainee, I mean I worked just as hard as they did, and this company really worked hard, I mean most of the time you know people worked through their lunch break including myself, and I um, put a lot of effort in and they really valued me as member, sorry, as a trainee, as a worker.

She continued to say:

> ... treated me with respect, um, I didn't have any bad treatment, you know thrown in my way in any way and um, and um, I learnt a lot, I was there for a year and I learnt a tremendous amount...

Lack of structure of traineeship

Although the structure of the programme was cited as a strength for some trainees, it was viewed as a weakness for others. There were complaints that the traineeship was not structured and others said it was not long enough. The latter comment, this was made by a trainee with reference to the traineeship when only a one-year programme was available. As noted in the information about the case study in Chapter Five, this has since changed.

One interviewee said despite the support from TDOs the traineeship lacked structure due to the host placement organisation:

> Like I mentioned the Training and Development Officer was very supportive. The powers that be saw us and I felt, when it came down to substantial issues in relation to what's happening in the training, requesting structured programmes and such, the TDO could do so much. It was then down to the contract between [name of host placement organisation] and CEED, they wouldn't push it forward, that was your responsibility and it's not our responsibility because we came on part of this course that CEED said to us, there will be a structured learning process for you, the TDOs tended to get that now it's down to CEED to go back and reinforce their contractual rights or obligations between what [name of host placement organisation] and themselves and they failed to do it.

On the positive side, despite the lack of structure, he went on to say that in the long term it actually helped him:

> I found that it actually helped me a lot more than the structured learning process because I'm more of a proactive person rather than sitting there and going through systems and procedures. I'm more of a hands-on approach. So I think that established me, or that allowed me to really put into place my academic understanding to work in a different organisation.

Another trainee also complained about the lack of structure, saying that it was not advantageous in any way:

> Structure of the traineeship, the way it's structured, I don't think both parties ever sat down together to work out how many months I'm going to learn this and what courses CEED is going to provide to provide it and how many months I'm going do this and other, it was totally non-existent.

Qualifications

There were some criticisms as some people with degrees were being forced to take a lower qualification. However, this was so in the earlier days of PATH (Bristol) when only a BTEC in housing was available; this has long since changed. Conversely, with reference to recent practice there were some criticisms about CEED being elitist in that it took on a lot of graduates while there were many people who had very few qualifications who could gain from the programme. One interviewee was critical in this respect even though he had degree himself:

> First of all, the programme itself was taking on people who had strong background already... Having degrees, academic qualifications and they were interested in taking these people on rather than people who had no skills, no qualifications, so programme was, I don't know if it's changed now, but at that time it was elitism, an element of elitism picking up by PAC.

Another trainee said that there was a perception in the local community that CEED was for those with 'long qualifications':

> People I know in St Paul's, I know quite a few people in St Paul's, some street guys and whatever and I talk to them about CEED and say why don't you go to CEED and see what they could do for you. Oh no, I wouldn't go to that place, you go in there and everyday different, people are changing, different faces and they all got long qualifications and they do nothing all day. And this is what the street, the guys down in St Paul's think of CEED. CEED's in St Paul's, but people from St Paul's don't access CEED. These people from outside, like yourself, like me, I mean look at me. I was going for a degree before I got into CEED. But guys on the streets, who've got a brain, maybe have some GCSEs or CSEs or whatever, have been knocked back in life, they would not go to CEED and say what would you do for me, they'd go and do an alternative thing. The reason for that is that the perception that they have is that CEED is for egg-heads and people outside St Paul's and people who have already got long qualifications and there's some sort of scam going on there. This is the perceptions that they've got 'cos that's what they've told me. I think that's bad really, I would love to see those people progress, you know move away from the life that they've got, being able to access a unique resource like CEED, but they're not doing it.

Other issues related to qualifications included not gaining the qualifications they wanted. One trainee did not pursue a qualification, but does not hold CEED responsible because she did not know what she wanted to do. On the other hand, another interviewee wanted to do a four-year course, however, she was unable to do so as her traineeship was only for a two-year period:

> I wanted to do my Legal Executives training, but it's a four-year course, or so they said at the time, it's a four-year course. What they didn't want to do was for me to start a course for a two-year traineeship and be left with two years to cover.

Therefore the trainee resorted to studying for a HND. After the traineeship, she did in fact carry out the Legal Executive's training and completed it in two years.

Another weakness was that the dates for the start of the traineeship and the start of the course-provider institution were not in sync, therefore in some cases this meant that the trainee had to wait to start their college course, in one case a trainee only had six months to do a one-year course because of this:

> Well that is my complaint, that my training is one year, the course is one year, I started in March, if I start in September then I have six months, I have to rush...

Others wanted the opportunity to study for management-level qualifications, however, these were not available. However, recently CEED has started to offer in-house qualifications in management, such as a Diploma in Management Studies.

Confusion over positive action and positive discrimination

There were many examples of confusion over the terminology of positive action and positive discrimination, for example:

> ... And then again people's um, white people's attitude to positive action, they, they see it as being, some organisations see it as being illegal anyway, yeah, they have this attitude thinking what is positive action, is it positive discrimination?

In particular the employees at the host placement confused positive action for positive discrimination, for example in one instance:

> There was mixed reaction from other employees as you can imagine about this is positive discrimination, not positive action. They don't probably understand what other people go through when you have, from different backgrounds or some other reason to be able to compete with others, for many reasons. So yeah, there was mixed reactions from the other employees.

A current trainee said that permanent staff she worked with asked her for clarification as to what her position is:

> ... I don't think so, 'cos some of them call me aside to ask me what am I, what is my position really?

Another current trainee was nervous about his position. He said:

> In my case I think if I tell them that I am a positive action trainee, they might sack me.

Some interviewees said that they had discussions at their host placement about the rationale for positive action or the need for services specifically for ethnic minorities.

It should also be noted that as a result of being on the programme, as would be expected, all the interviewees had good working knowledge of what positive action was and could articulate their understanding of it very well. However, one interviewee was confusing positive action with positive discrimination:

> Positive action is positive discrimination under section 38, it's because ethnic minorities probably find it difficult finding a job because of discrimination as you know there is, just under the surface. This is rather discriminating positively getting specially, ethnic minority people who didn't get a chance of doing so well in education or in jobs to retrain them and hence their chance of getting a better job.

Trainee allowance

Although additional funding in the form of money for driving lessons and counselling was well received, the trainee allowance was mentioned by some of the interviewees as being inadequate. One interviewee said that there was no financial gain:

> The salary is non-existent, it's unrealistic. I don't know where they come up with this figure, I think in my opinion it's probably because they've designed the whole programme keeping in mind school leavers maybe. As I said only, most of the trainees were of my background, the money is very important, most of them did have families and I know a few people who are now doing the families did have families so that part of the traineeship didn't really suit me, at the time because I was getting knocked down week after week of doing interviews. I did accept the £8,000 tax-free, it was better than nothing. But after six months we had our first baby as well, bought a house and it was just impossible. I mean I had to keep my evening job as well, I was going 8-5 to Yate and 6-10 to [name of organisation] and doing my post-graduate work as well, it was getting a bit too much. I did ask CEED but just no response at all. I did ask my

> manager, so they were in the process of increasing my sort of salary to 10,000 and at the time I just got the job then. That really pushed me to look for something, there was no way I would have stayed on the course, on the training for two years, it's too long for me.

Other weaknesses

Another weakness of the traineeship included the lack of employment opportunities after the traineeship. It was also felt that there was a lack representation of Asian trainees on the positive action traineeship. An Asian trainee said:

> As an Asian, generally assessing the positive action training on the website or their literature, you can see there successfully has been 90 plus in Black Afro-Caribbean, which automatically tells a person that there's no active marketing of this in amongst the Asian community, or there's a big problem among the selection stages when Asians do apply.

The traineeship was also considered to be weak compared to graduate training programmes which some of the host placement organisations had. These were four-year programmes in similar areas to that of the PAT traineeship and the graduate trainees received much more money than the trainee allowance of the positive action traineeship:

> Other weaknesses was comparing the traineeship with PAC with the traineeship with the organisation, they had themselves a traineeship and that was four-year programme for them, with more money, much more money and we had two-year programme and with very much less money.

This interviewee was asked whether the two sets of trainees were treated differently, however, he said he did not know as they were in different departments. Despite the shorter time period for the positive action traineeship, this did not affect his career development. The trainee gained employment at the host placement organisation and he cited an example whereby one of the graduates was halfway through his four-year training when the positive action trainee joined, but post-training, the positive action trainee had a higher position in the organisation than the graduate trainee.

6.6 OUTCOMES OF PAT

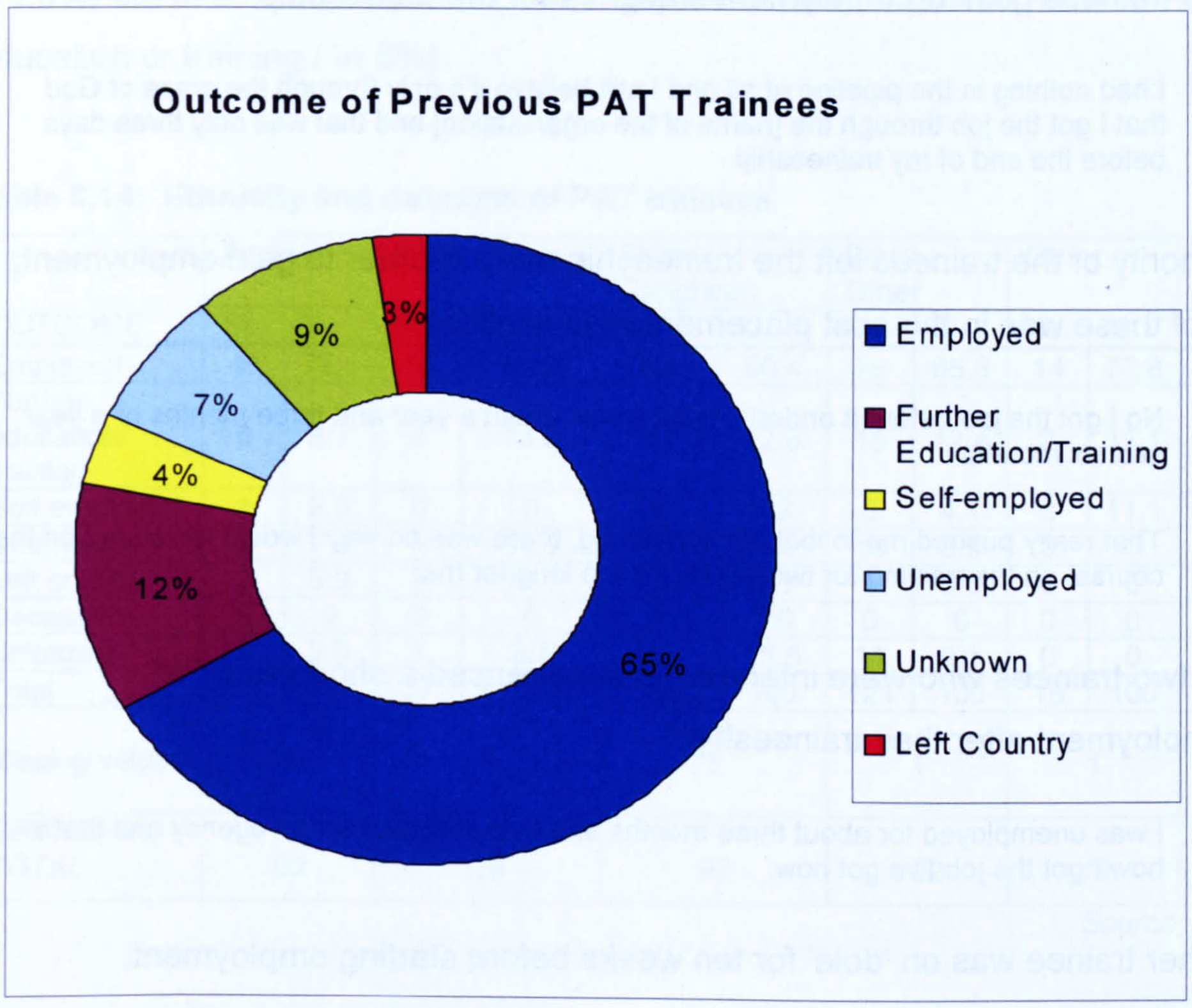
This section focuses on the outcomes of the positive action training programme; it looks at the outcomes in terms the destination post-programme, such as employment, further education, self-employment or unemployment; and the qualifications and other skills that may have been gained during the traineeship.

6.6.1 Outcomes Post-programme

Employment is not guaranteed after a positive action traineeship. Therefore there are a number of possible outcomes that a trainee can face after their training period. The outcomes can be viewed as either positive outcomes or negative outcomes; the positive outcomes are: employment, further education/training and self-employment; and the negative outcome is unemployment.

According to the CEEDIS data, over four-fifths (81.7%) of the previous trainees achieved a positive outcome post-traineeship with only 6.8% of the trainees having been subject to unemployment after their training (see Figure 6.4).

The survey also asked questions about the outcomes. Those trainees who had completed the traineeship were asked what they were doing three months after completing the traineeship, as well as their current position. The period of three months upon completion of the traineeship was chosen in order to reduce the amount of frictional unemployment (that is the time it takes to find employment and start employment in that post) that may have been experienced. The question about the respondent's current position was asked in order to find out what their present economic position was. First the results for the activity three months after the traineeship will be presented.



Source: CEEDIS

Figure 6.4

Table 6.13: Outcomes of trainees three months of completing their traineeship

Outcome	Number of Respondents	%
Employment (incl self-employment)	39	79.6
Further training	3	6.1
Unemployed	6	12.2
Other	1	2.0
Total	*49*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents that had completed their traineeship

The survey results show that 79.6% of the trainees were in employment three months after they completed the traineeship (see Table 6.13). A further 6.1% went into further training, whilst 12.2% were unemployed and 2% were engaged in some 'other' activity.

The interviews showed that of those who had completed the traineeship, most of the trainees gained employment straight after the traineeship:

> I had nothing in the pipeline at all and I still believe it's only through the grace of God that I got the job through the [name of the organisation] and that was only three days before the end of my traineeship.

A minority of the trainees left the traineeship early in order to gain employment; one of these was in the host placement organisation:

> No I got the job before it ended, I think it was about a year and three months or a year and six months.
>
> That really pushed me to look for something, there was no way I would have kept on the course, on the training for two years, it's too long for me.

Only two trainees who were interviewed experienced a short period of unemployment after their traineeship:

> I was unemployed for about three months and then I worked for an agency and that's how I got the job I've got now.

Another trainee was on 'dole' for ten weeks before starting employment.

Outcome: Gender

The outcomes in terms of gender were very similar, for example 65.6% of all males went on to gain employment after their traineeship as did 66.5% of females. There was a slight difference in gender in that marginally more females went on to full-time education and training than males, but males were more likely to go on to be self-employed than females.

Outcome: Ethnicity

The employment outcomes by ethnicity show that they were highest for Asians and 'Other' groups, with over three-quarters of these groups obtaining jobs (see Table 6.14). In contrast, only a little over half of the Black Africans obtained

employment. They were also the most likely to experience unemployment (14.8%) out of all the groups and marginally more likely to go into further education or training (14.8%).

Table 6.14: Ethnicity and outcome of PAT trainees

OUTCOME	Asian		Black African		Black Caribbean		Black Other		Other		Total	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Employed	48	77.4	15	55.6	58	60.4	79	65.3	14	77.8	214	65
Further education/ training	6	9.7	4	14.8	12	12.5	15	12.4	2	11.1	39	12
Self-employed	1	2.0	0	0	4	4.2	5	4.1	2	11.1	12	4
Unemployed	4	7.8	4	14.8	4	4.2	10	8.3	0	0	22	7
Left country	2	3.9	3	11.1	2	2.1	1	0.8	0	0	8	2
Deceased	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Unknown	1	2.0	1	3.7	15	15.6	11	9.1	0	0	28	9
Total	62	100	27	100	96	100	121	100	18	100	324	100
Missing values	1		1		1		1		1		5	
GRAND TOTAL	*63*		*28*		*97*		*122*		*19*		*329*	

Source: CEEDIS

Outcome: Length of time unemployed prior to PAT and outcome

The length of time a trainee was unemployed for prior to a positive action traineeship was cross-tabulated with the possible outcomes after the traineeship to see if the former has had an impact on the latter. There seems not to be the effect as one would expect. The a priori assumption would be that, the longer time a trainee was unemployed for, the more likely the individual would experience a negative outcome after completing the traineeship. The evidence shows that the opposite is true. The longer the individual was unemployed for, the more likely they are to be employed, and furthermore the unemployment percentages fall with an increase in the length of unemployment prior to involvement in PAT.

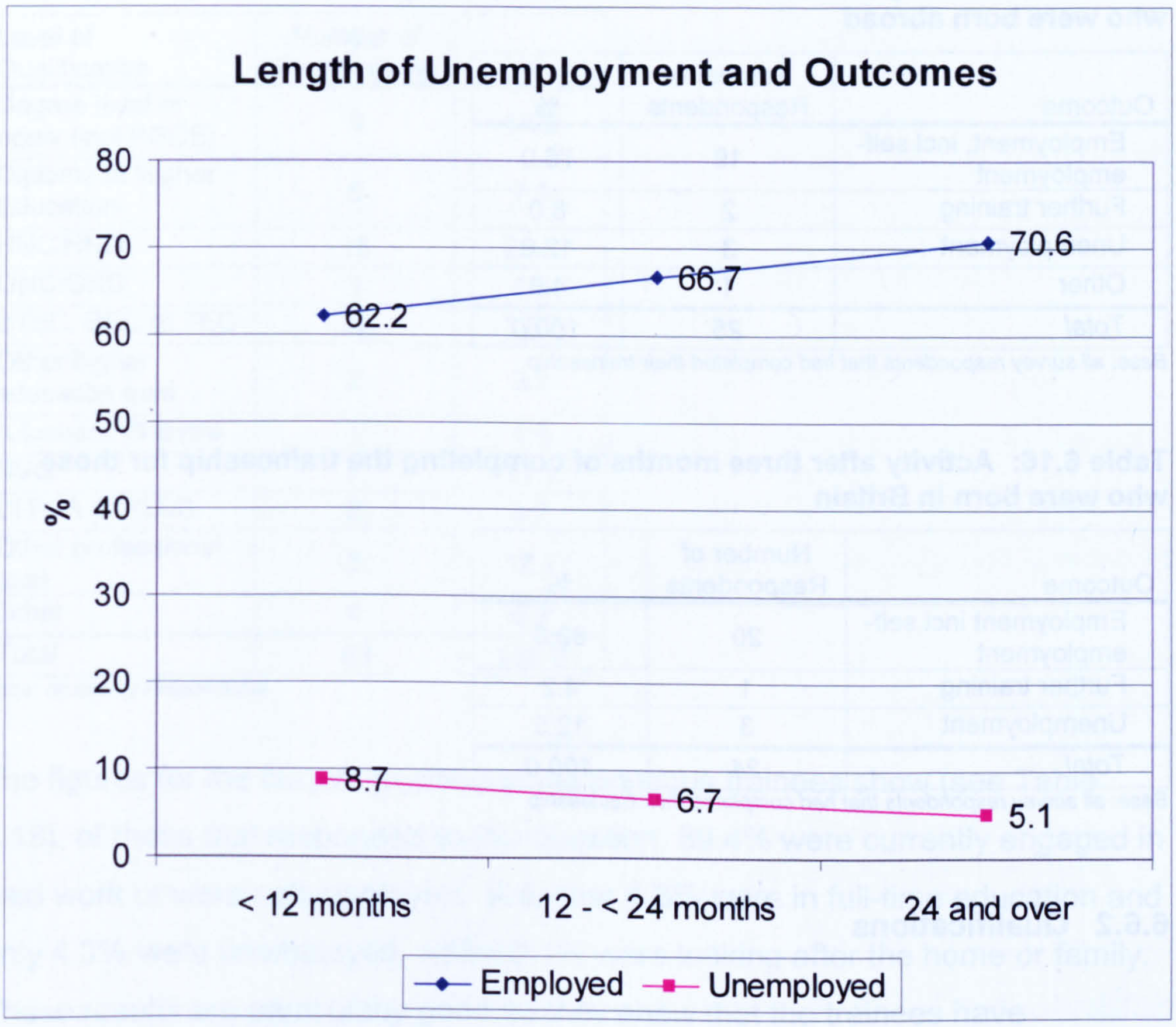
The percentage of individuals who were unemployed for less than 12 months prior to PAT and employed after the traineeship is 62.2 and that of individuals

who were unemployed for 24 months and over is 70.6. Conversely, the figures for the unemployed outcome for the same groups are 8.7% and 5.1% respectively. Figure 6.5 below shows the inverse relationship between the two outcomes mentioned here.

The further education/training outcome was not affected by the length of unemployment prior to the traineeship; 12.6% of trainees who were unemployed for less than 12 months took this option after their traineeship. The figure for the same outcome for those unemployed for 24 months and over is 11.9%

Self-employment is not very significant as an outcome, with only 3.7% of all trainees opting for this option after completion of their programme, only 5.5% of those unemployed less than 12 months and fewer (2.8%) of those who were unemployed for 24 months and over.

Therefore the outcome of the traineeship was not affected by the length of unemployment experienced by the individuals prior to the traineeship. Again this suggests that the PAT programme is effective in achieving positive outcomes, even though the individual may have experienced long-term unemployment.



Source: CEEDIS

Figure 6.5

Outcome: Migration

The results were analysed to see whether there was a difference in the outcomes between those born in Britain and those born abroad. Tables 6.15 and 6.16 below show that the outcomes were similar. Therefore migration did not affect the outcome of the activity upon completion of the positive action traineeship.

Table 6.15: Activity after three months of completing the traineeship for those who were born abroad

Outcome	Number of Respondents	%
Employment, incl self-employment	19	76.0
Further training	2	8.0
Unemployment	3	12.0
Other	1	4.0
Total	*25*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents that had completed their traineeship

Table 6.16: Activity after three months of completing the traineeship for those who were born in Britain

Outcome	Number of Respondents	%
Employment incl self-employment	20	83.3
Further training	1	4.2
Unemployment	3	12.5
Total	*24*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents that had completed their traineeship

6.6.2 Qualifications

A range of qualifications were being pursued by positive action trainees (see Table 6.17). During their traineeships 14.3% were working towards a degree or equivalent qualification, one-quarter a HNC/HND and 12.7% a professional qualification. BTECs and NVQs were also being pursued by 12.7% and 11.1% of the respondents respectively.

Of those who answered whether they completed the qualification they were working towards during their traineeship, 91% had completed it.

Table 6.17: Qualifications working towards during traineeship

Level of Qualification	Number of Respondents	%
Degree level or equiv (incl PGCE)	9	14.3
Diploma in Higher Education	5	7.9
HNC/HND	16	25.4
ONC/OND	1	1.6
BTEC, BEC or TEC	8	12.7
Other higher education qual	2	3.2
A Levels/AS levels	1	1.6
NVQ	7	11.1
CITY & GUILDS	2	3.2
Other professional qual	8	12.7
Other	4	6.3
Total	*63*	*100.0*

Base: all survey respondents

The figures for the current position of the previous trainees show (see Table 6.18), of those that responded to this question, 89.4% were currently engaged in paid work or were self-employed. A further 4.3% were in full-time education and only 4.3% were unemployed, whilst 2.1% were looking after the home or family. These results are particularly good as they show that the trainees have sustained employment.

Table 6.18: Current activity of previous trainees

Outcome	Number of Respondents	%
Paid work, including self-employment	42	89.4
Full-time education	2	4.3
Unemployed	2	4.3
Looking after home/family	1	2.1
Total	*47*	*100.0*
No response	2	
Grand Total of previous trainees	*49*	

Base: all survey respondents that had completed their traineeship

At the time of the interviews, all the ex-trainees were employed; most stayed in fields they did their traineeship in and further developed their careers. Some

also carried out further qualifications. Some were employed at the organisation at which they did their traineeship. Whilst others had started off by being employed at the host placement organisation, however had since moved on to other organisations in the same industry. For example, one interviewee was employed by the host placement organisation and later moved to another organisation in the same field where she had been working for nine years and she was also doing a degree-level qualification on a part-time basis.

A number of the trainees had senior positions, such as Senior Training and Development Officers, Managing Clerk, Project Manager, Senior Housing Officer and one was self-employed as a freelance consultant.

6.6.3 Other Skills

A number of other training courses were undertaken during the traineeships. These were usually one- or two-day training courses, some of which were delivered in-house at CEED. Just over two-in-five of the respondents had participated in a presentation skills course; over one-third of the trainees had participated in interviewing skills, and team-building and leadership courses; other popular courses were dealing with racism (29% of respondents), negotiation skills and IT training (both 27% of respondents) (see Table 6.19 below).

Some trainees mentioned some training courses they would have liked, but were not on offer. These included: advice, advocacy, welfare benefits advice, creative writing, report writing and assertiveness training.

Table 6.19: Table showing what other training courses trainees undertook

Training Course	Number of Respondents	%
Understanding finance	8	13
Interviewing skills	23	37
Operational planning	3	5
Strategic planning	5	8
Team building & leadership	22	35
Presentation skills	26	41
Change management	9	14
Negotiation skills	17	27
Marketing your business	3	5
Project management	10	16
Dealing with racism	18	29
Managing and supervising people	10	16
IT training	17	27
Other	11	18

Base: all survey respondents

6.7 SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

This final section before the conclusion makes suggestions for improvements. These are suggestions from the participants.

Those who criticised the training programme or elements of it were asked for their suggestions for improving it. A number of suggestions were made to improve the structure of the traineeship. It was suggested that CEED should provide a structured training plan with timelines and milestones.

It was felt that there should be better legislation for the training programme as a whole and a strategy to communicate traineeships within the host placement. One trainee said:

> All respects, all ramifications, what trainees rights are, what the organisation's rights are. And make sure trainees and anyone taking on a traineeship understands what they are letting themselves in for.

Related to this point, it was also felt that something needed to be done about the perceived ideas of the employees at the host placements about the trainees. This would also counteract jealously of the staff of the training opportunities

positive action trainees were receiving at the host placement and also the feeling of others who felt that they were an extra pair of hands or tokens. Trainees felt what was currently being done was not enough, as the two quotes below suggest:

> Yes, I don't think it was enough just putting out you know, fliers around the office to say we have a new placement coming in and they're going to be a trainee and working with us and that's it. A lot of the work in explaining why I was there was done by myself and that helped. Some of the managers knew about it, but they didn't explain, they had their own comments and opinions about it...

> About me being a PAC trainee there. But to think, it may have been easier to have, I don't know some sort of strategy developed with that to go maybe with the Positive Action Consortium itself, you know the host organisation and PAC could do some form of, I don't think there's enough communication within the organisation as regards to what they're doing about PACs or CEED trainees or whatever, it's down to a number of people interested in this area, want to do something different, so they have trainees in, but then it's not communicated to the people they're working with. It's an add-on, it's not part of the process or strategy of providing access and opportunities to different types of groups of people, it's just ok fine, we think we need that, let's go and do it. The focus is on placements rather than a wider strategy of a fairer reflection of society within the workplace.

Similarly any such action taken may help to counteract people treating positive action trainees as if they need help:

> It's difficult to change the places that you put the trainees into, I think that's the difficult thing, the fact that everybody knew that you were a positive action trainee and I think that did possibly affect me and the perceived ideas that people had about me, as to whether I was just there because I needed help, not that I was an intelligent person who had gone through a recruitment process and was there because I'd been the best person for the job. So I think that possibly needs to be, I don't know if there's a way around that, that could be something I think that people did see you as different.

> [Interviewer:] Maybe informing those people around you what positive action was, did they understand what positive action was?

> Yeah, I told them but it didn't stop them from thinking, I think there's maybe uneasy feeling that well, there's isn't really a job here as such, there's not a need for you, you're here and there's work being found for you. Actually there was one time I did take on a specific role for a period of time over the summer months, which was a role they would have employed somebody to do, but a lot of the time it was a case of work being found for me to do. Which I think sometimes would breed resentment like with the trainee solicitors and other people.

Suggestions were also made in order to widen participation among the Asian group, in particular it was thought that there should be an office or some kind of representation of CEED among the Asian community. This would increase their

knowledge of the programme and make them more likely to engage with it. It was also suggested that CEED should advertise their traineeships more widely in colleges, religious organisations and in charitable organisations and in particular advertise more widely throughout the Asian sector and form partnerships with such organisations.

A suggestion was made by one trainee in the housing field that where there was a two-year placement in, for example, a council, one year could have been spent in a housing association in order to give breadth of experience. In reality this may be difficult to carry out on a practical level. That said, however, in a different field, another trainee had an innovative solution to her boredom at her host placement. She was placed within the public sector and arranged work experience placements for herself in private sector firms.

Suggestions were also made with reference to the training unit of CEED. Interviewees said that the unit should be well staffed and resourced and TDOs should have knowledge of the field their trainee caseload is on. One interviewee in particular said that there should be more help with the academic work, in the form of more one-to-one support.

Whist it was suggested that there needed to be a specific programme for those without any qualifications, another thought that the field of training should be expanded in particular for graduate positive action trainees. An enhanced training programme for management trainees (including management qualifications) similar to graduate trainee programmes was also suggested.

It should be ensured that the trainee forum continues to be a vital part of the traineeship as this was seen to be particular useful by a number of previous trainees:

> We always felt that there was this budget that was part of the traineeship that we as trainees were supposed to have access to, to develop, but we were never given access to it. There was always controversy about you don't need it, or you don't need it. There was a lot of controversy whether that training budget was there for our training, so we didn't get a lot of training, but what was useful in the forums was that we came up with a

number of recommendations which we then passed on to the Director and I see now a lot of things that trainees have access to would have come out of those meetings because they weren't in place before, which is a good sign. Having said that, I understand that the forum is not happening at the moment for whatever reason, I mean we organised trips and went to London and looked at other positive action programmes so they could learn from us, we did quite a lot within our time. So yes, I think access to training, 'cos you're not going to get all your training from your placement for whatever reason, they may say we're poor and we don't have the money to train, but to be able to do stuff in-house would have been useful, we didn't have that although we were told there was a budget there. But when you then questioned the budget and could you use it, you were told no you can't. For books, part of that budget was part of your traineeship to get books, but it was like no you can't, it was nonsense and there was lots of complaints in fact. But I think that's been sorted out now.

Issues around finance were also mentioned. In particular, this was related to a suggestion for an increase in the training allowance and also with respect to the trainee budget it was suggested that trainees were clear of how much the training budget was and what it could be used for. Additionally it was suggested that trainees knew of all the training opportunities that were on offer; one interviewee felt that he had missed out on some training opportunities:

> ... and like to access more things, now I'm thinking that my traineeship's over, I was, sometimes I wanted to take a day off and, like I said I was taking full advantage of my traineeship, now I was thinking if I had some more time here, I'd have more training in other things.

Also another issue in relation to in-house suggestions for CEED was to ensure that all cultures and religions were respected. In particular this meant that halal food was available at trainee forums as lunch is usually provided during the day:

> Within CEED, the one thing which may be a petty thing, but it upset me a lot, even up to this day, was I came for a course and an ethnic minority organisation who understands everybody's feelings and cultures and there was no provision for halal food or there was no mention, it was during Ramadan, that these people may be fasting, things like that. These are quite sensitive issues and I'm sure if there was a vegan among us, that would have been catered for, but not, to me is quite upsetting because wherever I am I do force people to listen to me and my food during our Christmas meal last year, they served me after my fasting was over (referring to his current employer), so why not in CEED which is champion of us, why did they miss this out. It upset me a lot.

Another suggestion was made with reference to the recruitment of trainees in different fields. One interviewee suggested that there should be campaigns for teachers and dentists or other areas where there was an under-representation of ethnic minorities and in areas where there is a skills shortage in the UK:

> ... just like you said, you know to expand more in the field, I think its more like canvassing, when they go out, the TDOs, look for employers to take up, you know, people to train, they should expand and make it more, 'cos when I was applying I used to see a lot of housing, associate admin post, I wasn't seeing anything in education or things that I thought I could do, and also the level which they're training people, they should try and look for also graduates, make it a mixture.

Also programmes for those who came from overseas to help them overcome barriers were also suggested.

6.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings of the research undertaken on the PAT programme delivered by CEED. Section 6.1 focused on presenting the characteristics of those who had undertaken a PAT programme. It found that 329 trainees had participated in a PAT programme from 1988 to 2000. Overall there was diversity among the trainees in terms of age, gender and ethnicity. Most of the trainees were aged over 25, with an average age of 31. The groups most represented were Black Other and Black Caribbean. Although overall the trainees were equally represented by gender, in terms of ethnicity and gender, there was a particularly high proportion of Black Other females. All the groups were at least representative of the local population, except for Asians. Half of the trainees were born in the UK and the other half abroad.

Section 6.2 presented the origins and experience of the trainees. This included their experiences of school. For some this included racism. Those who were partly schooled in their country of birth and partly in the Great Britain spoke fondly of their experience 'back at home'. The trainees had a range of qualifications before they embarked on the traineeship. These ranged from GCSE to degree-level qualifications; however a larger proportion held a degree. According to the survey results two-thirds of the trainees were in employment prior to the traineeship, 16% in full-time education or on a government training programme and only 14% were unemployed. However, the qualitative findings

found that some had been unemployed but described themselves as taking time off.

Section 6.3 looked at the perceived barriers to labour market/career development of the trainees. The most common barriers were a lack of work experience, lack of finance, personal/domestic circumstances and discrimination. Discrimination was experienced based on a number of factors; however, 'race' was more prominent. As may be expected those born abroad experienced more barriers than those born in Britain.

Section 6.4 showed the reasons for embarking on the traineeship, these included to gain work experience, to make a career change, to get a job or to acquire qualifications. Not all of those who embarked on the traineeship knew what positive action was, those who did know about it were informed by word of mouth, by, for example, friends and family. Most of the traineeships were for a duration of two years with over one-half of the respondents placed within a local authority or another public sector organisation. Just under one-third were placed within a charitable/voluntary sector/not-for-profit organisation and very few were placed within the private sector. Overall the views about different aspects of the traineeship were very positive. A number of strengths were mentioned about the traineeship, these included the opportunity to pursue the traineeship, the work experience element, the ability to study for a qualification and support among others. There were, however, some weaknesses, which included a lack of support, the experience of tokenism, a lack of structure, the trainee allowance and the confusion over the term positive action.

Sections 6.5 and 6.6 presented the outcomes of the traineeship and suggestions for improvements respectively. The outcomes for the PAT programme included employment, qualifications and the development of other skills. The survey results found that 80% of the trainees gained employment three months after the traineeship and this employment was sustained as most of the trainees were still employed at the time of the questionnaire. The CEEDIS database showed that fewer trainees were in employment post-

traineeship; this will be discussed in more detail in the next section. A number of suggestions were made such as a better strategy of informing all those employed at the host placement of what positive action is and the role of the positive action trainee and the increase of the trainee allowance.

The next chapter will provide a more detailed analyses and discussion with reference to other studies and the broader literature on the barriers and exclusion presented earlier in the thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will reiterate the aim of this research and present an overview of the findings. It will also discuss the findings in light of the wider literature, as well as discuss any limitations, implications of the study and suggestions for further research.

The aim of this thesis was to evaluate the effectiveness of positive action training with respect to ethnic minorities. In particular, it was to assess whether positive action training was effective in combating the labour market disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities. The focus of the evaluation was on the experience of the programme participants. The research sought to identify: the characteristics of the participants; the barriers to employment or career progression; the experiences of the participants of the programme; and the strengths and the weaknesses of the programme with suggestions for improvement.

In order to highlight how this thesis contributes to knowledge, Chapter Four pointed out that there was a lack of empirical research on positive action, therefore this thesis sought to provide research evidence on positive action training as a policy to combat labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities. In particular, the research for the thesis focused on a training provider of positive action training programmes, that is an ethnic minority voluntary organisation based in the community; also the case study under examination in this research provides positive action training in a variety of occupations and industries, whereas previous research based on such programmes has focused mainly on the housing profession.

7.1 OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

7.1.1 Summary of findings

- Most trainees were over the age of 25 when they embarked on the traineeship.
- The largest proportion of trainees were Black Caribbean and Black Other.
- Overall there were equal numbers of male and female trainees; although this did differ between the different ethnic groups, such that Black Other females made up almost half of all female trainees and there was a higher proportion of them compared to Black Other males; conversely Asian females were proportionately fewer than Asian men.
- Asians were under-represented and Black Other trainees were heavily over-represented in proportion to the local population.
- Half the trainees were born abroad.
- The educational qualifications of the pre-trainees were diverse; these ranged from GCSE-level qualifications to degree level. One-third of the trainees had degrees; of those who had overseas qualifications most were degree level or higher.
- According to the survey results most of the trainees were employed (including self-employed) prior to the traineeship; although more may have been unemployed immediately prior to the traineeship; however, according to CEED's database (CEEDIS) over one-half of the trainees were unemployed for over two years prior to the traineeship.
- The key barriers to employment/career development were: lack of work experience; lack of finances; personal/domestic circumstances; discrimination; and lack of qualifications.
- Those born abroad experienced more barriers than those born in the UK; although those born in the UK felt they experienced more discrimination than those born abroad.
- Most undertook the traineeship to gain work experience, change career, gain access to the labour market or to acquire qualifications.

- Most of the interviewees did not know what positive action was prior to undertaking the traineeship.
- Most of the traineeships were for two years and over one-half of the trainees were based within a local authority/other public sector; just under one-third (29%) were based within the voluntary sector; and only 11% within the private sector.
- The majority of the trainees were positive about their experience of the traineeship.
- The key strengths of the traineeship were: the opportunity to pursue the traineeship; work experience; qualification; the structure of the traineeship; specialist skills training; and support.
- The key weaknesses were: the feeling of tokenism; lack of support; lack of structure of the traineeship; confusion over the terms positive action and positive discrimination; and the low amount of the trainee allowance.
- The employment outcomes for the trainees were high; according to the survey 80% went into employment and a further 6% went into further education. According to the CEEDIS database at least 65% were in employment, with a further 12% in further education. However, the employment figures from the CEEDIS database may be higher as there was incomplete data.
- The employment outcomes were equal for males and female trainees.
- The Other and Asian groups were the most likely to be employed post-training.
- The likelihood of employment post-training was not affected by factors such as migration and long-term unemployment prior to the traineeship.

7.1.2 Findings with Respect to the Evaluation Framework

A brief summary of the results will be reiterated here with respect to the evaluation framework posed in Chapter Five:

1. *The number of participants moving into jobs post-training*

According to the survey results 80% of the respondents were in employment (including self-employment) three months after the traineeship. A three-month time period was chosen in order to reduce the frictional unemployment (that is the time it takes to find and start employment) that trainees may have experienced during the period straight after the traineeship and the beginning of employment. A further 6% were in further education and 2% were engaged in some 'other' activity. A small proportion of ex-trainees were unemployed post-traineeship (12%).

The current activity of the ex-trainees was also determined in order to gauge whether the employment was sustainable as well as to find out their current activity as some of the trainees had completed their traineeship some years ago. This question found that 89% of the respondents were in employment (including self-employment), showing that the employment post-traineeship was sustainable. There was a small proportion of trainees in full-time education or looking after their home/family (4% and 2% respectively) and only 4% were unemployed at the time of the survey.

However, according to the analysis of the CEEDIS data, 65% went into employment, 4% were self-employed with a further 12% in further education and training. These results are lower than those of the survey of this research and from that of Boddy (1998b) because the 'unknown' destination is included in this analysis of the CEEDIS data, whereas Boddy discounted this. It should be noted either way that unemployment was low for both sources of data.

2. *The number of participants gaining qualifications during the training and the level of the qualifications*

The qualifications gained during the traineeship are shown in Section 6.4.2 of the previous chapter. One-quarter of the respondents studied for a HND/HNC, 14% pursued a degree, while 12% were carrying out 'other professional

qualification' and 11% were doing either a Diploma in Higher Education or another Higher Educational qualification. Vocational qualifications were also being pursued, such as NVQs (11%). Almost all (91%) of the survey respondents completed the qualification they were working towards on the traineeship.

3. *The number of participants gaining work experience*

All trainees gained work experience as this was a core part of the programme structure. There were a few cases, although an uncommon experience, where the host placement could no longer continue to provide a traineeship due to, for example, in one case the host placement going into liquidation. However, CEED made every endeavour to place the trainee elsewhere in these instances.

4. *The number of participants developing/learning other skills (e.g. time management, project management)*

Trainees were able to take part in training courses offered at the Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED); these were usually one- or two-day courses. A wide range of courses were available; most of the trainees had participated in interviewing skills, presentation skills, team-building and leadership, dealing with racism, IT training and negotiation skills (see Section 6.4.3 for further details). There were some courses that were not available that the trainees expressed interest in, such as report writing and assertiveness training. Some trainees were also given training opportunities provided by the host placement organisation and as one would expect a number of skills, such as working in a team and supervisory skills were developed whilst undergoing on-the-job training.

5. *Establish labour market disadvantages affecting the client group and whether they combated/addressed?*

The key barriers mentioned included a lack of work experience, lack of financial resources, personal/domestic circumstances, discrimination and a lack of educational qualifications. Prior to the traineeship some trainees were unemployed and for some the motivation for embarking on the traineeship was to earn more money, whilst some trainees wanted a career change.

6. *Were there any other benefits, such as an increase in confidence, self-esteem etc (soft measures)*

A number of trainees said that the experience of the traineeship was very positive with a couple saying it was a life-changing experience. The increase in confidence was mentioned and this certainly helped career development after the traineeship.

7. *Participant assessment/views of the training provision (client experiences)*

The majority of the trainees were very satisfied with the traineeship and different elements of it. Over four-fifths of the survey respondents strongly agreed or agreed that the training, the work experience and the qualifications they received were useful in relation to their career aspirations. The same proportion also strongly agreed or agreed that the traineeship experience made it more likely for them to get a job and that it furthered their career development. At least 70% of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they felt supported by their Training and Development Officer (TDO) and their supervisor at the host placement. Over three-fifths of the trainees strongly agreed or agreed that the traineeship helped them get the qualifications they wanted.

The most useful aspects of the traineeship were the work experience, the opportunity to study and in particular the ability to do both simultaneously. Other useful aspects were the trainee forum and the specialist skills training. Some trainees did experience some problems during the traineeship; however, these were usually in isolated cases.

8. *The unit cost of training provision*

The unit cost of the traineeship was £11,336.

9. *The numbers/proportions of participants who are from the different ethnic groups, and who are men and women achieving the outcomes above*

Due to the relatively low response rate of the survey, the survey results do not allow for a breakdown by ethnicity of the different groups as each would be too small to make any significant inferences. However, the CEEDIS database does hold some information on outcomes and ethnicity; although the outcome results should be treated with some caution as there are some unknown responses, it can be used as a general indication of any differences in outcomes. Overall, men and women were as likely as each other to participate in the positive action training programme and equally likely to gain employment post-training. In terms of ethnicity, Asians were under-represented, although this was more marked for Asian females. There is some evidence to suggest that Asians were more likely to gain employment than the other groups and that Black Africans were marginally more likely to experience higher levels of unemployment post-traineeship.

7.1.3 Critical Success Factors of CEED's Positive Action Training Programme

I think there are a number of issues or critical success factors of this programme. The duration of the programme is important, it's not a two day, two week, one month programme; it's on average a two year programme. I think the quality of monitoring and reviewing is a critical factor. I think the quality of the programme itself is a critical factor in terms of there being an action plan, objectives clearly stated to which this individual will be working, hopefully where by the individual knows what it is they're aiming to achieve, that is, I intend to get my BTEC higher in Housing and at the same time obtain two years solid in housing management or housing maintenance and to be reviewed and assisted and supported, either through my training officer or through the trainee forum, where possible or indeed through other staff in the organisation in the course of my programme.

Ex-Managing Director of CEED

As highlighted from the quote above there are a number of critical success factors which contribute to the achievement of CEED's positive action training programme. One of the factors of success is that CEED is delivered within the framework of a social enterprise and has charitable status. Therefore, unlike private training providers profit is not its key motivation. The main aim of the organisation is about opening up opportunities for ethnic minorities in the inner-city area of Bristol. Therefore it is based in Ashley, one of the four neighbouring wards where there is a concentration of ethnic minorities. As it is based in the community those from the surrounding areas feel comfortable. Coupled with the above it is an ethnic minority-led organisation; providing a culturally supportive environment and the presence of ethnic minority role models has positive implications for the trainees.

The second critical success factor is that CEED has a long established positive action training programme and one which is flexible and dynamic. It provides different elements that help ethnic minorities to overcome their barriers to employment or career development. It provides work experience, the opportunity to study for qualifications at any level, as well as specialist training courses. The programme has evolved over time from a one year programme in housing, to one that is available in all occupations and industries where there is under-representation of ethnic minorities under the terms and conditions of the Race Relations Act (1976). Also important is that the traineeships are offered in a wider variety of organisations and in particular, mainstream organisations. The number of trainees the programme is delivered to on an annual basis has grown over the years. Additionally each traineeship is unique and is tailored to the individual trainee; it is a minimum of 12 months, providing on-the-job training and one day a week in order to study towards a qualification. There are also a number of support mechanisms available, which is very important; this includes support from CEED in the form of a Training and Development Officer (TDOs), a supervisor at the host placement and peers (fellow trainees) at trainee forums.

Another key ingredient of success for the positive training programme delivered by CEED is the profile of the trainees. The calibre of the trainees that CEED

attracts is high, as reflected by the high proportion of graduates that apply and take on the traineeships. As a result it could be argued there is an element of 'creaming', however, this also reflects the high level of unemployment among such groups, in particular the high level of unemployment among Black African graduates as discussed in Chapter Two. Need is the basic criterion for positive action training (PAT) and the high demand for the training programme is reflected by the ratio of the number of applications per traineeship (there are 21 unsuccessful applicants per traineeship). That said, the programme would not be successful without the host placements, without which the trainees would not receive a critical component of the traineeship, the on-the-job experience. There are a variety of host placement organisations, some of which have taken on a number of trainees over the years, showing their commitment to positive action and positive experiences of using it.

Success can also be attributed to funding. Over the years CEED has been successful in gaining funds for the provision of positive action training, such as the European fund EQUAL, which amounted to one million pounds per annum; CEED was successful in two rounds of three-year funding (from 2001 to 2007 in total). CEED has also become less dependent on public funds or grants by generating income by renting office space within its premises and selling consultancy services and training, allowing the organisation to be sustainable.

Another component of the success of CEED's positive action training programme is that it provides complementary services which provide synergy across the organisation. It provides IT training, other training courses, advice on employment in the form of the job shop, advice on self-employment and media training. PAT trainees can access such provisions.

Overall there are a number of components which make CEED's positive action training programme successful and the above can be seen as the ingredients of success. It must, however, be stressed that such factors must not be taken in isolation; it is a combination of the above which makes the overall programme effective.

7.2 THE FINDINGS IN LIGHT OF EXISTING RESEARCH

Characteristics of the trainees

The characteristics of the trainees who had been on the positive action traineeship show that there was a diversity of trainees in terms their age, gender, country of birth, ethnicity and educational qualifications.

Although most of the trainees were over the age of 25, the minimum age of the trainees was 17 and the maximum was found to be 56. Therefore age was not a limiting factor to participating in the positive action training programme. The fact that almost three-quarters of the trainees were aged over 25 when they started the traineeship is a surprising finding as the ethnic minority population has a young age structure, as shown in Section 2.2.1 of Chapter Two. The higher proportion of those aged over 25 may be due to the lack of opportunities available, or barriers to, adult training or employment as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The limited number of younger trainees may be because they may choose other options such as further education, government training schemes, employment, unemployment or 'not in education and employment' (NEET), as discussed in Chapter Two; equally they may not be aware of the option of positive action, as shown by the lack of knowledge of some of the trainees (as presented in Chapter Six).

Overall, gender was equally represented between the positive action trainees, although in terms of gender and ethnicity, Asian females were under-represented. This may reflect the lower economic activity for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, as shown in Chapter Two. However, this conclusion is difficult to draw with any great certainty due to the lack of accurate data on the individual groups which make up 'Asian'.

The make-up of the ethnicity of the trainees shows that there is diversity; despite this, a closer analysis in relation to the local population shows that there are fewer Asian trainees. As already mentioned, what cannot be gauged is what group within the Asians is under-represented. This would be a particular

issue if it was the Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups due to the 'severe' disadvantage they experience in the labour market, as described by Modood et al. (1997) (see Chapter Two). That said, it could also be argued that if the Indian and Chinese groups are under-represented, this could also be a matter of concern, particularly as they are generally under-represented as managers in large establishments and supervisors (though not Chinese women), also shown in Chapter Two.

Half of the trainees were born abroad, whilst the other half were born in Britain. This reflects the same proportion of ethnic minorities that are born in the UK in the general population, as referenced in Chapter Two. Several of those in this research who migrated to Britain did so when they were young and carried out part of their education in Britain.

Origins and experience

The trainees had a range of qualifications before they embarked upon the traineeship; these were from GCSE level to degree level or higher. Therefore the level of education pre-traineeship did not hinder the opportunity to embark on the traineeship. In actual fact the proportion of those with degrees in this study is similar to that in the Julienne (2001) study based on the housing profession, although the proportion of those with GCSEs and no qualifications were much lower in this research. That said, the trainees with higher-level or with few qualifications were catered for accordingly, that is they undertook qualifications that were suitable to their level of previous qualifications and their traineeship.

The activity pre-positive action training shows that according to the CEEDIS database, all of the previous trainees had been unemployed for at least one month pre-positive action training and over 50% were long-term unemployed. Furthermore, the qualitative evidence shows that some of the interviewees who were not working were not describing themselves as unemployed, but 'taking time off'.

Barriers to career development

In relation to Berthoud's six factors of disadvantage, as outlined in Section 2.2 of Chapter Two, this research found that alienation was an isolated experience by a very small number of interviewees. The structure of the economy and the lack of opportunities were found to affect a few trainees; this reflects de-industrialisation, as mentioned in Chapter Two (DfEE, 2001). Also mentioned was socio-economic factors and transport, reflecting the concentration of ethnic minorities in the inner-city, particularly as ethnic minorities in Bristol are concentrated in four deprived wards, discussed in Chapter Five. Such factors impact on access to opportunities, as discussed in detail by the Cabinet Office reports (2000, 2003). The rise and decline in the economy also affected the supply and demand for traineeships and the number of potential applicants. Personal and domestic circumstances were a barrier for almost one-third of the participants; whilst family structure did not affect all the trainees, it was a barrier in terms of having to financially support a family and childcare issues, of which the former was mentioned in Chapter Two and found by the Daycare Trust (2000). On the positive side, however, rather than this being a barrier, family support was mentioned by a number of trainees. The survey results showed that half of the respondents were born abroad and the qualitative interviews found they had diverse migration patterns. The survey results showed that a higher proportion of those that migrated to Britain experienced a lack of work experience, a lack of information and a lack of educational qualifications more than those born in Britain. Furthermore, whilst the trainees that migrated to Britain experienced more barriers than those that were born in Britain, those who had moved to Britain when they were young experienced fewer barriers than those who had migrated later in life. For the latter group in particular, their overseas qualifications were a barrier as well as a lack of references as found by Daniel (1968). Language and a foreign accent were also mentioned, in particular by one trainee who said he had applied for 500 jobs without any success. Leslie and Lindley (2001) found that such factors in particular were related to higher unemployment among Pakistani and Bangladeshi men. Discrimination was experienced by almost one-quarter of all the trainees.

Although this was mostly experienced on the basis of 'race', discrimination based on age, gender, disability, religion and 'other' was also experienced, although at a much lower rate. The experiences of discrimination based on 'race' that were described by the participants were similar to the evidence on discrimination set out in Chapter Two, in particular the participants described situations that reflected the discrimination tests where an ethnic minority and a white jobseeker were treated differently. Religious and cultural discrimination was mentioned by a small number of participants, particularly by Muslim participants; this reflects the wider evidence of such discrimination presented by Modood et al. (1997) and Ahmad et al. (2003). As mentioned above those who were born abroad experienced more barriers than those who were born in Britain; interestingly, the only barrier that was experienced by more of those born in the UK compared to those born abroad was discrimination. The lack of recognition of discrimination by those who migrated to Britain could be due to their underestimation of discrimination as mentioned by findings in the wider literature by ethnic minorities overall, as shown in Chapter Two; conversely, the recognition of discrimination of those who were born in Britain may be due to the awareness of practices, procedures and legislation in Britain, although this may still be an underestimation of what happens in practice. There was some evidence of stereotyping and expectations at school; in particular this led to evidence of channelling for some into occupations, as found by Cross et al. (1990).

Other barriers mentioned included a lack of opportunities for training. This reflects the barriers to training outlined in Chapter Three, such as the lack of knowledge and access to such opportunities. Similarly, a lack of work experience was mentioned; employer-related training programmes can help alleviate such barriers. However, again as already mentioned, there are numerous barriers to training for ethnic minorities. Other barriers such as finance and confidence were mentioned by the participants, however, there was no evidence of this in the wider literature outlined earlier in the thesis. On the other hand, some of the respondents said they did not experience barriers and

one interviewee blamed herself for not having the skills, not recognising that there may have been barriers to training/education, as set out in Chapter Three. The most common barriers experienced that were found in this research were a lack of work experience, lack of finance, personal/domestic circumstances, discrimination and a lack of educational qualifications. These were also found to be apparent for the ex-PATH trainees in Julienne's study (2001), however, discrimination was more marked in his study. In the survey of the Julienne study different types of discrimination were expressed, namely overt racism by 36% of the respondents; indirect racism by 78% of the respondents; racial stereotyping by 70% of the respondents; and sexism by 36% of the respondents. In contrast, in this study only just under one-quarter of the survey respondents experienced discrimination of some form, of which the most cited form of discrimination was on the basis of 'race'.

Traineeship

The reasons for embarking on the positive action traineeship included: to gain work experience; to change career, including pursuing a career in a particular industry; to gain access to employment; and to acquire qualifications. One of the striking findings of this research is that several of the respondents did not know what positive action was prior to embarking on the traineeship. There was a general understanding by some trainees why the host placement took on trainees, however, there were a few who were either unsure or sceptical. Most the trainees found out about the traineeship through the newspaper, CEED publicity or word of mouth, with the latter proving an important source of information.

Most of the traineeships were for the duration of two years and most completed their traineeships, although a few did leave their traineeship early in order to pursue full-time employment. In terms of the type of organisation the trainees were based at, over a half of the trainees were based in a local authority or another public sector organisation and almost one-third were based in a charitable/voluntary/not-for-profit sector organisation. The proportion of trainees

based within the local authority or public sector is similar to that found in the Julienne study (2001), however, a lot fewer trainees were based within a charitable/voluntary/not-for-profit organisation in this research than in the Julienne study, the reason for which is probably because the Julienne study was based solely on the housing sector; both pieces of research found few trainees based within a private sector company, although more may have been expected in this study particularly as research presented in Chapter Three shows the low levels of ethnic minorities employed in the FTSE 100 companies in the UK; and particularly in managerial posts. However, whilst positive action can be undertaken by such firms as under-representation of ethnic minorities is apparent, unlike the public sector, legislation does not impose any duties to promote 'race' equality in the private sector, as discussed in the Chapter Four.

Of the trainees who responded to the survey, 38% carried out their traineeships in the housing profession. These were either within the local authority or housing associations (which are generally not-for-profit organisations), with the remaining 62% in other industries. As described in the case study in Chapter Five, CEED began as a positive action training provider in housing and later diversified into all industries and occupations. Despite this change, a high proportion of the trainees were in the housing sector (although most are previous trainees). This may be related to the history of PATH and the awareness and need of the training in the sector. A more detailed analysis of the industries and occupations of the traineeships would have been useful to carry out, but this was beyond the scope of this research (also, the data held on CEEDIS for the type of placements was not complete, nor reliable).

The majority of the trainees were positive in their evaluations of different aspects of the traineeship; in particular, the majority of the trainees found the training they received very useful in relation to their career aspirations, other useful elements were the work experience and the qualifications. Most also felt supported by their TDO and supervisor at their placement. The trainees were also particularly positive about the likelihood of getting a job after the traineeship, a job they really wanted and felt that the traineeship helped them

further their career development. Fewer strongly agreed or agreed with the fact that the traineeship helped them get the qualifications they wanted, although this was still over a half of the respondents (62%). This low rate may be because in the early days of PATH (Bristol) only a HND in housing was offered to the trainees, however, this has since changed and the trainees can participate in training at different levels, including post-graduate level as long as the length of course is the same as the traineeship.

Some trainees gave a particular glowing response about the traineeship and felt they had been given an excellent opportunity. Even those who had experienced some problems had some positive comments to make about the traineeship. The most useful aspects were the work experience, college course or a combination of both as well as the specialist skills training.

There were some problems that were experienced, although these were mainly isolated cases or experienced by a small number of trainees. These included: having to challenge racism at the host placement; racism from a client while on placement; boredom; no longer learning; and the loss of the host placement organisation due to liquidation.

The strengths of the traineeship were numerous. These included: the opportunity to pursue traineeship; work experience; qualifications; structure; specialist skills; funding; and access to jobs/information about jobs. Nonetheless there were also a number of weaknesses, some of which were also mentioned by others as strengths: lack of support; tokenism; lack of structure; qualifications; confusion over the terms positive action and positive discrimination; trainee allowance; lack of employment opportunities after traineeship; lack of Asian trainees; and weak compared to graduate training programmes offered by host placements.

One of the biggest issues found in this study and echoed in a number of other studies carried out in this field as referred to in Chapter Four is the confusion of

the terms positive action and positive discrimination or lack of understanding about positive action.

Outcomes

The employment outcome for the survey respondents was 80%, however, that from the CEEDIS analysis shows it was 65%. As discussed in the section above there are some unknown destinations for some of the trainees. This could be due to the fact that CEEDIS is inaccurate or due to the low response rates of the 'where are you now' forms CEED sends out. A factor for the higher outcome for this study could be that it allowed for three months in order to reduce frictional unemployment. Also Boddy (1998b) has used CEEDIS and his employment outcome was 81% as he did not include the unknown destinations in his analysis. Overall, the outcome is very good even if the minimum outcome is at 65% and anything up to 81%. Overall, the employment outcome for CEED compares favourably to those of other studies. The outcomes for employment for the Julienne study (2001) was 71% and 80% for the Department of Environment study (Focus Consultancy, 1996), as already shown in Chapter Four.

The 'Other' and Asian groups are most likely to be employed according to the CEEDIS database. For the Asian group this reflects the advantaged position in the labour market of the African Asian and Chinese groups that make up part of this group. Although the numbers for the overall unemployed were low, Black Africans were more likely to experience unemployment post-training, reflecting the general labour market experiences of high unemployment for that group as shown in Chapter Two.

Conversely, overall the results for the outcomes show equality in the outcome of both males and females, as well for those who migrated to the UK. It may have been expected that those who had migrated may have experienced lower rates of employment post-traineeship compared to those who were born in the UK as

the former group had experienced more labour market barriers. However, this research proved this not to be the case.

One interesting finding of this research is that the length of unemployment prior to the positive action training programme did not affect the outcomes, even if this was long-term unemployment, as it may otherwise be expected to do so, as the longer-term unemployed become progressively less attractive to employers. These results, therefore, have positive implications for these individuals. Positive action training gives those who have been unemployed the opportunity to gain at minimum 12 months of work experience and work-related qualifications, which is paid for, whilst receiving a training allowance. Over a half of the trainees were long-term unemployed according to CEEDIS (that is, unemployed for over 24 months).

The positive action training programme certainly addresses the disadvantages of lack of work experience, lack of qualifications and lack of finance. It offers: substantial work experience, in most cases two years; the ability to study for qualifications at any level with course fees paid and funding for resources; on top of which it provides a tax-free trainee allowance. Thus specifically addressing the three barriers mentioned. The programme also provides other skills training courses and support from various sources. Moreover, post-training there is a high success rate, with most going on to employment or even full-time education, helping to address the higher unemployment and lower economic activity of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, this research suggests that issues such as long-term unemployment, gender differences and migration do not affect the employment prospects of the trainees post-programme, which is very encouraging.

In order to strengthen the programme, suggestions for improvements were made by the interviewees, these included: structured training plans with timelines and milestones for all trainees; communication to the host placement employees of what positive action training is and why it is required; the widening of participation among Asians; varying of the traineeship, by offering a variety of

placements within one traineeship; a well-staffed and resourced training unit at CEED; management training programmes for trainees; an increase in the trainee allowance; ensuring that all trainees are aware of all the training opportunities open to them; respecting all religions and cultures at CEED; and targeting certain careers for traineeships such as teaching.

7.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY THAT MAY AFFECT VALIDITY/GENERALISATIONS OF THE RESULTS

Although this research has endeavoured to be as rigorous and accurate as possible by, for example, employing triangulation in the form of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, like most social science research, this research is not without its limitations. In particular, the research findings presented in this chapter have been based on a case study of an organisation providing positive action training, despite the attempts made for multiple case studies as discussed in Chapter Five. Therefore the results are true for that organisation in that geographical location. However, as a model for training programmes, this research provides some extremely valuable insights and some very positive results of an ethnic minority training provider. Therefore implications for this study could be used in a wider context and the critical success factors will also apply to other positive action training providers around the country, other positive action initiatives and for mainstream programmes, as long as factors such as the local labour market conditions and context are acknowledged.

7.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY/RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this research shows positive action training under section 37 of the Race Relations Act (RRA) (1976) to be an effective model for training and upskilling ethnic minorities. It does this in a number of ways. Essentially it assists in breaking down some of the barriers to employment and training and provides the skills, work experience and qualifications within industry and job-specific context. It does this through a structured training programme which

lasts for one or two years. It also provides adequate financial assistance and support at different levels (from the organisation, training and development officer as well as peer support). The findings of this research have a number of implications for social policy. These centre on funding, the confusion of the terms positive action and positive discriminations, the issue of creaming, the lack of diversity of Asian trainees, the lack of traineeships in the private sector, gaps in provision and other improvements that could make the programme more effective.

One of the key findings about the characteristics of the trainees is that most were aged over 25 upon commencement of the positive action training programme. This has implications for funding. Some funding sources have suggested targeting specific age groups; for example, CEED had a contract to deliver the New Deal Innovation Fund, however, this was not successful due to the target age of the client group, which was 18-24. Ideally, therefore, the funding should not carry such restrictions; as shown in this research there was a diversity of trainees, by ethnicity, gender and age.

The widespread confusion over the terms positive action and positive discrimination needs to be addressed. The responsibility of this on a national level should rest with organisations such as the Commission for Human Rights or the Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform; on a local level PAT providers can also raise awareness, though national campaigns would carry more weight and would be seen as being objective. At the same time there needs to be a strategy in order to ensure that trainees are not made to feel like tokens at their host placements.

Training programmes are often accused of 'creaming'; this has been the case for government-supported training programmes, as discussed in Chapter Three. In the case of positive action, this has also been found in this research as there are a high proportion of graduates. This was also found in another study (Julienne, 2001), however, such activity was defended whereby it was argued that ethnic minority graduates are twice as likely to be unemployed compared to

white graduates, as also mentioned in Section 2.1.4 in Chapter Two. It could also be argued, as shown in Chapter Two, that although some groups are less disadvantaged than others, such as the African Asian and Chinese groups, they are still under-represented in positions of managers and supervisors. Therefore positive action training should be delivered to all groups, regardless of whether they are well qualified.

Although overall the CEED trainees are ethnically diverse, there is an under-representation of Asian trainees in proportion to their presence in the local population. It is difficult to tell which individual groups that make up the Asian category are under-represented. Either way, the lack of any of the trainees in the Asian category would be of concern, such that if there was a lack of Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups, this would be of concern as they suffer the most disadvantage, as shown in Chapter Two (although Bangladeshis make up only a small proportion of the population in Bristol). Equally, as already argued above, if there was a lack of African Asians and Chinese this too would be of concern as they are under-represented in senior positions, showing there is still a need for positive action in order to address this. It should be stressed that within positive action legislation, it is the under-representation of the 'racial' group which is of importance, rather than the disadvantage of the 'racial' or ethnic minority group.

The research evidence presented in this thesis and that of similar research shows the lack of positive action trainees based within private sector companies. More generally there is also most certainly under-representation among ethnic minorities in senior positions in the private sector as shown in Chapter Two. Therefore positive action can most definitely be used in order to remedy this, however, CEED's training division has stated that it is difficult to find placements within the private sector. The difficulty is augmented by the fact that there are no legal 'race' equality requirements upon the sector. In order to rectify this, there should be lobbying for 'race' equality measures to extend to the private sector. At present the only way to do this is to promote positive action through the business case and the moral case. CEED has used the

business case in order to promote positive action training, however, this needs to be strengthened as evidenced by the lack of traineeships in the private sector.

There are gaps in the provision of positive action training provided by CEED. Any providers of PAT programmes should consider childcare, which for some was a barrier to employment/career development pre-traineeship and a barrier to employment and training found in the wider literature. Additionally, there is a need for aftercare provision when the traineeship is completed. The provision of support post-programme with the aim of finding employment should be considered by CEED or other organisations providing such programmes. Other issues for enhancing the traineeship included an increase in the trainee allowance, for some of the trainees, it was not enough to live off, particularly for those who had families.

The traineeships should be targeted at certain professions where there is a general shortage in the labour market, as well as an under-representation of ethnic minorities, such as teaching. This may also help PAT organisations recruit host placements.

CEED and other PAT organisations should continue to provide positive action as it is a successful programme and it should continue to work on the strengths mentioned. However, it could strengthen the programme with the suggestions provided and these can provide lessons for other PAT organisations. It should also ensure support is available for all trainees, as this was a particular issue during one period when there was a high turnover of TDOs. CEED may also consider having block starts of trainees to coincide with the academic year, however, in practice, this may not work as the host placement organisation also has to be considered. The trainee forum should continue as fellow trainee support was found to be particularly useful; it should be ensured that the trainee forums are run regularly and that trainees are given ample notice of the dates on which these are to be held; CEED may also consider a web-based chat forum accessed through their website so that trainees can communicate with one another at times other than the forum.

Community-based organisations such as CEED will and do have a number of issues to contend with. There are potential threats for CEED/positive action which have to be kept in mind. These include legislation; the legislation around race relations could change, although this is not an immediate threat as at present this has only recently been strengthened in the form of the RRA Amendment (2000). Other issues that are current are that there are arguments that programmes such as positive action should be based on class or socio-economic factors rather than on ethnicity exclusively; although ethnicity will still be a factor as Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are the most disadvantaged. However, if this is the case, African Asians and the Chinese groups will not benefit as the 'glass ceiling' effect will not be addressed. Another issue for positive action is that it was supposed to be a temporary measure, as mentioned in Chapter Four; however, under-representation of ethnic minorities in industries and occupations still exists. This may also lead some to question the extent to which positive action has been successful.

Funding sources for the positive action training programmes will be a continual issue that organisations that deliver such programmes have to contend with. However, such funding sources are usually only available for a limited number of years. Another issue to contend with is finding host placements and 'selling' positive action to them. Furthermore, there are organisations such as PATH National who provide traineeships around the country that could potentially compete for the same host placement organisations as the local PAT providers, as well as organisations running their own traineeships in the local area, such as Bristol City Council. However, as shown in this research there are a number of benefits to the trainee to be part of a traineeship as delivered by a community-based organisation, as well as for the host placement, such as lower costs and no or little administration.

The critical success factors identified earlier in this chapter are transferable to other positive action training providers. This applies to programmes for ethnic minorities as well as those on the basis of gender and disability. This research

has shown the importance of the package of different elements that is available within traineeship. Also of importance is to socio-economic context that the traineeship is delivered in.

Whilst positive action training programmes are successful in breaking down some of the barriers experienced by ethnic minorities, like any policy measure there are limitations. There are some things which cannot be addressed by PAT. In particular PAT under section 37 cannot provide employment during or after the traineeship under the RRA; it can only provide training and jobs must be recruited for in an open competitive environment. In addition positive action can help break down some of the barriers faced by ethnic minorities. However, it can only really do this by working on the supply side of the labour market. What positive action training programmes cannot do is directly affect the demand side of the labour market, although that said, the organisations that deliver such training can have some influence in lobbying and raising awareness in general with employers, providing a bridgehead so that more aware people in companies can use PAT as a way of influencing recruitment, and changing employer attitudes to individual trainees who get the chance to demonstrate and develop their employability. There have been some examples of this strategy being successful in the public sector but as seen from this and other relevant research it is the private sector that is the most challenging. Although it was not the key focus of the research in this thesis, positive action under section 38 of the RRA (1976) can be used in order to provide opportunities and training for existing employees to access promotional opportunities, therefore more widespread use of this should be encouraged.

Overall the evidence shows that policy interventions are needed in order to make positive changes for ethnic minorities in the labour market. There will be several different possible focuses for policy. Pre-labour market policies aimed at ethnic minority inequalities such as positive action training will be important. These will help reduce disadvantages in education and training, increasing their employability when applying for jobs in the open labour market. However, it is important to recognise that ethnic minorities face difficulties in gaining

employment at all levels of education. Although there has been research to suggest that occupational mobility has occurred (Platt, 2005), there is counter evidence showing that ethnic minority graduates tend to experience the same disadvantage as those with low-level qualifications (Heath et al., 2000). There is a need for effective careers services that cater for a diverse client base and provide access to information about job opportunities, training opportunities and career advancement advice. Whilst improved careers services at further education colleges and universities may help, this research shows that such services delivered within community organisations are extremely important. Equally if discrimination is a major factor accounting for observed ethnic penalties then policies aimed at employers will be intrinsic.

It is also recognised that while positive action training is effective, it is only one solution as highlighted from the quote below:

> I wouldn't either want to present positive action as a panacea to all problems for racial equality in employment. It clearly isn't. What we have been able to achieve for employers and other achievement if you like is to show that er, you know we bring in ethnic minorities who are well qualified in safe working environments under a positive action programme. What we have showed them, is that, you know, if you had recruited well and you had good equal opportunities employment policies, you too might have found these people without having to go through and find them through positive action programme. And actually what, that was a key, key effect of positive action is that it brought to their attention weaknesses and limitations in the ways in which they were recruiting. And suddenly er, they for one positive action trainee, they may have then gone out and looked for others er, in the local community and in the local area and I think they did it and that clearly has been a benefit. We've had an impact on their equal opportunity recruitment policies because of our positive action scheme.
>
> Ex-Chair of CEED

Whilst PAT is effective within the context of being a training programme, overall, however, what is required is a range of diverse policies aimed at the different causes of disadvantage. There has only been one significant change to the race relations legislation since 1976 and it is too premature to look at its effectiveness. The option of extending the RRA to the private sector should be looked into.

As well as targeted approaches such as positive action, it is equally if not more important to address the disadvantage in mainstream services/programmes as these potentially have a wider reach to recipients. Government programmes should be mindful of their diverse client groups that may access these and ensure that such training is accessible to all and does not disadvantage anybody either whilst on the programme or in terms of the outcomes after the programme. This applies not only to ethnic minorities, but diversity more generally, such as taking gender and disability into account in programme formation and provision. In addition, whilst this research shows that positive action under the RRA is successful, the programme could be used for a framework for mainstream programmes and targeted at the most disadvantaged client groups. Although positive action as provided under the RRA can only be applied to ethnic minorities, for others this could include intensive mentoring and advice over a longer period than allowed for by mainstream programmes combined with specialist provision. Such measures might be targeting on for example the long-term unemployed groups or ex-offenders.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Suggestions for further research could include looking at the career development of ex-positive action trainees, which can be used as case studies in order to market positive action training to host placements, particularly in the private sector. A more detailed analysis of the occupations and industries CEED trainees have been engaged in could be useful in order to see whether under-representation in such occupations and industries has been addressed.

If possible, further research should be carried out to explore whether there are any significant differences in ethnic minority outcomes and experiences of the traineeship. Research on employers would also be useful, while there has been some research carried out on organisations that have undertaken positive action training (Welsh et al., 1994), there is no research on the reason why organisations do not undertake positive action, particularly those in the private

sector where there is marked under-representation of ethnic minorities at senior levels.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the significant findings of this research. It has specifically highlighted the findings in terms of the evaluation framework that was set out in the methodology chapter (Chapter Five) as well as discussed the findings in relation to the wider literature in the field where appropriate literature was found and literature in general in terms of the labour market and ethnic minorities. The limitations have also been discussed as well as suggestions for further research and social policy implications of the study. The following and final chapter provides a summary and conclusions of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Britain has become an ethnically diverse society largely due to the immigration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan since the Second World War, the natural rate of growth of subsequent generations, and more recently as a result of refugees fleeing their home country due to war and persecution. Many ethnic minority groups, both first generation immigrants and British born, have experienced problems in many different spheres of their lives and recent developments such as the Macpherson inquiry and urban disturbances in northern England have refocused attention to the continuing significance of ethnic disadvantage for public policy.

Many of those from ethnic minorities experience more disadvantages in the labour market compared with the white population. Labour market indicators show that in general, ethnic minorities have lower employment rates and conversely higher rates of unemployment, as well as longer periods of unemployment than the white group. In particular, ethnic minority unemployment is more than twice that of the white unemployment rate, with some groups experiencing four-times that of the white rate. Furthermore, the ratio of unemployment between ethnic minorities and their white counterparts has increased from 1.87 in 1986 to 2.3 in 1996 rather than decreasing over the years (Ogbonna and Noon, 1999). Similarly, the length of unemployment is at least twice as long for ethnic minority males and three times longer for ethnic minority females compared to their white counterparts (Twomey, 2001). In comparison to whites, ethnic minorities also have lower earnings and experience occupational and industrial segregation, for example, there is an overall difference of almost £100 between all ethnic minority males and white males, with Pakistani and Bangladeshi males experiencing the largest pay gap by £150 compared to white males. However, such differences are not present for female average earnings, this is largely due to the greater proportion of ethnic minority females who work full-time compared to white females (TUC,

2002). However, the term 'ethnic minority' encompasses a wide variety of groups and amalgamating them conceals the diversity among the individual groups. A closer analysis of the labour market and the individual groups shows that the Chinese and African Asians groups experience broad parity, the Indian and Caribbean groups experience relative disadvantage and the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups experience severe disadvantage compared to the white group. While there is some room for optimism for at least the African Asians and Chinese groups, there remains the under-representation of all ethnic minority men as managers and employers and large establishments.

The factors behind labour market disadvantage are complex and inter-related. Traditionally there were two broad explanations put forward in the literature, migration and discrimination. People who migrate experience disadvantage in the labour market as their educational qualifications may be lower or unrecognised, their language skills or lack of fluency may adversely affect them as well as having a lack of references and knowledge of the recruitment process. However, such disadvantages are expected to disappear for subsequent generations, though evidence of ethnic penalties have been found (Heath et al., 2000). Other explanations have also been put forward to explain the disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities. These include: alienation, discrimination, expectations and stereotyping, family structures, migration, and the structure of the economy among other barriers which also may affect the labour market demand and supply of ethnic minorities, such as, human capital and their mobility.

Labour market policies seek to address these disadvantages. Such policies are available in the form of mainstream government training programmes aimed at those who are disadvantaged in the labour market, as well as programmes that are specifically designed to address the needs of ethnic minorities. A review of the former suggests that mainstream government-supported training policies do and have replicated some of the disadvantages experienced in the labour market more generally, in that there is evidence of inequality, disadvantage and discrimination. Overall, ethnic minorities experience numerous barriers to

participation, which in turn lead to under-representation on the programmes per se or certain elements of the programmes, usually the employer-based elements. Ethnic minority participants also experience a disparity of outcomes in qualifications and jobs when compared to white participants. This was found on previous government-training programmes, for example, the Youth Training Scheme as well as current programmes, such as the Modern Apprenticeships. The literature showed a great deal of evidence that culture-blind and colour-blind polices are not effective (The Parekh Report, 2000).

However, New Labour's New Deal programmes for the unemployed pledged to be different in a number of ways; in particular, prior to the New Deal no other mainstream labour market programmes specifically considered ethnic minorities in programme design and delivery; the New Deal boasts being the first labour market programme from the outset to try and ensure parity of outcomes between the ethnic minority and white participants. A number of measures were put in place in order to improve delivery, increase ethnic minority participation and improve the outcomes of ethnic minority participants. However, research has shown that the New Deal for Young People and New Deal for the Long-term Unemployed (more commonly known as the New Deal for 25+), the two compulsory programmes, have not reached parity of outcome. There was a 26% jobs gap between ethnic minority and white job outcomes on the New Deal for Young People in the year 2000; the equivalent jobs gap for the same period for the New Deal25+ was 15%. There are also marked differences in the option choices made by ethnic minorities, such as an under-representation of ethnic minorities on the employer-based options, reflecting the patterns of previous government training programmes.

In conclusion, therefore, mainstream government-supported training programmes should most certainly focus on the most disadvantaged groups and incentives and additional funds should be made available to cater for the needs of these groups. Overall it is essential that the needs of the entire client group are known of and addressed within the policy responses and programme formation.

Another policy measure is positive action which is allowed under the Race Relations Act (1976). This is a 'race'-based policy and aims to combat labour market disadvantage. In particular, it aims to address under-representation of ethnic minority groups to help them overcome the disadvantages when competing with other applicants. However, it can only provide the training and encouragement measures that are required for an individual to compete on an equal footing with other job applicants. It cannot provide employment opportunities in favour of ethnic minority groups. This thesis set out to make a contribution to knowledge in a number of ways. Primarily there is little evidence of positive action training other than in the housing profession, also there is little evidence ethnic minorities issues in the labour market in cities where there is a relatively small ethnic minority population. The aim of this research was to evaluate the effectiveness of positive action training with respect to ethnic minority groups. The research was undertaken using a case study approach to an evaluation. It focused on a case study of a positive action training provider, The Centre for Employment and Enterprise Development (CEED) Charity Ltd, a community-based voluntary sector organisation based in the city of Bristol. Multiple methods were employed to achieve triangulation by using both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect the data for this research; this included secondary data analysis, a survey of the previous and current trainees, face-to-face interviews with the previous positive action trainees, and a focus group with the current trainees. Key informant interviews were also undertaken, mainly to gain contextual and background information. This research set out to find out whether positive action training is effective in combating labour market disadvantage among ethnic minorities.

This research had a number of objectives. Firstly, it was to identify the dimensions of labour market disadvantage experienced by those that embarked on the positive action traineeship. In terms of the dimensions of labour market disadvantage experienced, all trainees were unemployed and over 50% were long-term unemployed (over two years). Reasons for joining the traineeship included to get a job, to gain qualifications, to develop a career and the potential to earn more money. Interestingly not all the trainees knew what positive action

was prior to embarking on the traineeship and most found out about the traineeship through the newspaper, CEED publicity, and family and friends.

The second objective was to identify the factors that affect ethnic minority groups in the labour market and entering the labour market with respect to those that undertook the positive action traineeship. The most common factors or barriers, as they are more commonly called, found in this research were a lack of work experience, lack of financial resources, personal/domestic circumstances, discrimination and a lack of qualifications. Migration was also a factor of disadvantage; the trainees that had moved to Britain experienced more barriers than those born abroad. In particular, a higher proportion of those born abroad experienced a lack of work experience, a lack of information and a lack of educational qualifications more than those born in Britain. It should also be noted that those that came to Britain when they were young experienced fewer barriers compared to those that came when they were older. Interestingly, the only barrier experienced by more of those born in Britain than those born abroad was discrimination, which was largely based on 'race'.

The third objective was to identify the key characteristics of the positive action trainees. This thesis found that there was a huge diversity among the characteristics of the positive action trainees. There was diversity in their age, ethnicity, level of qualifications and the country of birth. Whilst there was a wide range of the ages of the positive action trainees when they commenced the traineeship, ranging from 17 to 56, almost three-quarters were aged over 25 and the average age of the trainees was 31. Although there was a mixture of different ethnic groups making up the trainees, the largest proportion of the trainees were Black Other and Black Caribbean, both making up two-thirds of the total trainees. Just under one-fifth of the trainees were from one of the Asian groups and the 9% were Black African. When compared to the local population of Bristol the only group that was under-represented was the Asian group, however, it was not possible to tell which of the Asian groups was under-represented. In the local population the Indians were the largest ethnic minority group followed by the Pakistani group and the Bangladeshi and Chinese groups

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were the smallest of the total Asian group. In terms of the gender of the trainees, overall the males and females are generally equally represented. However, in terms of gender and ethnicity, there were significantly more Black Other females than Black Other males, making up almost one-half of all the female trainees; and conversely the Asian females were fewer than Asian male trainees. In terms of the country of birth, half of the trainees were born in the UK and the other half were born abroad, with over one-half of them having settled in England prior to 1990. For some, the experience of school included racism and stereotyping. For those that migrated to the UK part of their schooling was carried out in their country of origin and part of it in the UK, their experiences of education in their home country were much more positive than that in the UK. The qualifications held prior to the traineeship by all the trainees ranged from GCSE level qualifications to degree level qualifications. Just under one-third of the clients had a degree and one-in-five had an overseas qualification, some of which were degree level or higher. According to the data held by CEED all the trainees were unemployed for at least one month prior to the traineeship; over one-half of the trainees were unemployed for over 24 months, which is also considered as long-term unemployed, two-fifths were unemployed for less than 12 months and only 5% were unemployed between 12 and 24 months.

The fourth objective was to explore the experiences of the positive action trainees. Most of the traineeships were for a period of two years with over a half of the trainees based within a local authority or another public sector organisation and just under one-third were placed at a voluntary sector organisation. Very few placements were within the private sector (11%). Overall the respondents were positive in their evaluations of the programme. The majority of the respondents found the training, work experience and qualifications useful in relation to their career aspirations. Most also felt supported by their Training and Development Officer (TDO) and supervisor at the host placement. Overall the respondents were positive about their likelihood of getting a job, a job they really wanted and that their career development was furthered as a result of the traineeship. A lot fewer, yet still over half of the

respondents felt that the traineeship helped them get the qualification they wanted. In addition the traineeship was found by some to be a life changing experience. More specifically certain elements of the traineeship were found to be particularly useful, such as the combination of the on-the-job training and the college course and being able to apply the theory learnt at college/university to the work environment. Other useful aspects of the traineeship mentioned were the trainee forum and the specialist skills training. That said, there were some problems that were also experienced on the traineeship, most of which were experienced in isolated cases or by a very small number of trainees. These included having to challenge racism at the host placement, racism towards a trainee from a client, boredom, having reached the capacity for learning before the end of the traineeship, and a host placement went into liquidation. In the majority of these cases CEED or the host placement solved the problems, such that for example, in the case where racism was experienced by a trainee from a client, the host placement sent a letter from the management to the client; in terms of the company that went into liquidation, CEED found an alternative placement.

The fifth objective was to identify the key strengths and weaknesses of the positive action traineeship and to identify key factors of a successful programme and social policy implications. The strengths were varied and the most common included the traineeship itself as an overall package, the work experience element, the ability to carry out a qualification, specialist skills training and support. However, a number of weaknesses were also identified, some of which were also identified by others as strengths. In most cases the weaknesses were only mentioned by one or a small number of trainees. These included a lack of support, tokenism, a lack of structure, issues around qualifications, confusion over the terms positive action and positive discrimination and the trainee allowance. A number of suggestions for improvements were made by those that had been on the programme. These included improving the structure of the traineeship, a strategy to communicate traineeships/what positive action is within the host placement, to widen participation among Asians, vary the traineeships to incorporate different

practices such as public and private sector, a well staffed and resourced training unit, and to increase the trainee allowance.

The outcomes post-traineeship the CEEDIS database showed that at least 65% of the positive action trainees gained employment after the traineeship, however, these results could be much higher as the CEED database includes some missing information and the survey results show that 80% of the trainees were employed after three months of the traineeship. Both sources showed that there were only a small proportion of trainees unemployed after the programme (7% and 12% respectively). Also a small proportion of trainees went onto full-time education or training. All the trainees undertook some form of qualification and/or specialist skills training, and gained transferable skills such as team work and soft skills in the form of confidence building. Overall the employment outcomes were not affected by gender, migration or the length of unemployment prior to the traineeship.

Overall the positive action training programme addressed a number labour market disadvantages for the positive action trainees. The disadvantages that were addressed included unemployment, and in some cases long-term unemployment, as also experienced by more ethnic minorities than the white population in the wider labour market. The positive action training programme in particular addresses this as a result of the overall programme as already shown above, there is a high proportion of trainees going into employment after the programme, or going on to other 'positive' outcomes, such as full-time education or self-employment. Very few trainees were unemployed once they completed the programme. Some of the reasons for embarking on the traineeship mirrored other disadvantages experienced by the trainees; these reasons were to gain qualifications, to develop a career and the potential to earn more money. These reasons reflect the situation of the wider labour market, as in particular, some groups such as Black Caribbean males, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis hold few qualifications; the lack of careers mirroring the occupation and industrial segregation of ethnic minorities; and the potential to earn more money, reflecting the pay gap ethnic minorities suffer compared to

the white population. The positive action training programme has the potential to address all these within the structure of the programme. More specifically it provides the opportunity to study for a qualification at any level, including academic and vocational qualifications and almost all the trainees in this research studied towards some qualification. The traineeship also provides the opportunity to develop a career and provides the opportunity to access training in industries and occupations ethnic minorities are under-represented in, as has been shown, in particular in the housing industry, by this and other research in this field.

The specific barriers experienced by those in this research included a lack of work experience and a lack of financial resources. The positive action training programme certainly address the lack of work experience as it provides a minimum of one-year's work experience, in most cases this is two. In terms of the lack of financial resources it provides a tax-free trainee allowance and covers the course fees for qualifications as well as providing a small amount of money for other resources that may be needed. Migration was certainly found to result in labour market disadvantage for the group under analysis. Those that migrated experienced similar disadvantages to those that were born in the UK, such as those mentioned above (a lack of work experience and a lack of qualifications), however, they also experienced a lack of information. These experiences reflect those of first-generation immigrants shown earlier in this thesis. The positive action training programme evaluated here is particularly effective in combating these disadvantages as highlighted above. The trainee is also supported by a training and development officer and has a supervisor at their host placement, who can provide help, assistance and the necessary information in terms of career development. In particular this research found that the majority of the trainees felt supported. Language issues were also a problem for some trainees, those were addressed by the positive action traineeship where language examinations had to be fulfilled for particular professions, such as for medicine.

However, there were some barriers that were not addressed by the positive action traineeship. In particular, in terms of personal/domestic circumstances, some trainees mentioned childcare as a barrier. Unfortunately the CEED training programme did not cater for childcare and does not have the funding to do so. This was suggested by some of the trainees for improving the programme. Discrimination was experienced by one-quarter of all the trainees, however, the positive action training programme cannot directly address this as it only addresses labour market supply issues. There were cases that the trainees felt like tokens and there was confusion over what positive action was. Some attempts were made to remedy these situations, however, the trainees felt that more needed to be done and in particular, again such issues were mentioned for improving the programme.

Similarly, only 329 trainees had undertaken a traineeship over a 12-year period (although in recent years the numbers of positive action trainees has averaged about 80), which is a small number within a wider context. In addition although the employment outcomes are high, positive action training works on the supply-side of the labour market, therefore it can do little to affect the demand of employers either after the training or even in terms of finding the host placements. There is certainly a lack of positive action traineeships in the private sector. In a broader context, it could be argued that despite the legislation and the use of positive action, selection for a job applicant is still based upon merit and open competition; therefore this could provide room for discrimination in the recruitment of ethnic minorities. Therefore recruitment methods and issues around entry to employment have to be addressed; however, this is beyond the scope of the positive action training programme. Although section 38 of the Race Relations Act (1976) could help break the 'glass ceiling', this does depend on ethnic minorities being employed in the organisation in the first instance. Also such programmes may be under threat as diversity management becomes more popular as an equality tool and due to the continued misconception that such programmes positively discriminate.

This research allows for the key components for a successful positive action training programme to be drawn out. It should provide work experience coupled with the opportunity to study for a relevant course in order to achieve qualifications at any level, as well as specialist skills training courses. This should be packaged in the form of a well-structured programme with milestones and targets which are regularly monitored. Support should be available from TDOs, the host placement supervisor and from fellow trainees in the form of the trainee forum. The trainees should also receive a tax-free training allowance and their course fees paid for. In particular the traineeship should be tailored to meet the needs of the trainees on an individual basis. Other factors contributing to the success of the positive action traineeship include that it is delivered within a framework of an ethnic minority voluntary organisation and trainees feel like they are in a culturally supportive environment and that the organisation provides synergies which not only sustain the organisation, but enhance the traineeship. There are also some social policy implications of the research findings in this thesis. In particular these are that funding sources should not carry an age limit, the confusion around positive action and positive discrimination needs to be addressed, the programmes should ensure they have a diversity of trainees so all ethnic minority groups benefit and positive action training in the private sector should be encouraged. Overall, it is essential that there are funding sources available for positive action training initiatives. This thesis shows there to be routine failures as a result of mainstream government-training programmes and the positive action training programme presented here can do a similar job better.

Overall this research shows that positive action training is effective in combating disadvantage among ethnic minorities. It addresses the main barriers to employment or career development that were faced by those that embarked upon the positive action traineeship. Although the traineeship provides training and does not include the offer of employment at the end of the programme, the employment outcomes of those that had undertaken the programme were very high and overall the experiences of the trainee were positive. There is also evidence to suggest that the trainees were in successful careers. This indicates

that positive action training represents an effective means of addressing the majority of the roots of labour market disadvantage experienced by ethnic minorities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

YOUTH AND ADULT GOVERNMENT-SUPPORT TRAINING PROGRAMMES

Youth training has seen significant changes (see Table A1). Government established training boards in the mid-1960s in order to push employers towards a more active approach to training across the full range of industrial sectors. Traditional apprenticeships were primarily in occupations relating to craft and technical skills in engineering, the metal industries and construction. However, economic decline in the 1970s led to concern over social consequences of the young who were not in education or work. This led to the Youth Opportunities Scheme (YOPS) in 1978, which offered work experience and training for school leavers aged between 16 and 18. This, however, was seen by critics as designed more simply to keep "them off the streets" (Lee and Wrench, 1987). In 1983 YOPS was replaced by the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), which was initially a one-year on-the-job training programme with one day per week off-the-job training. In 1986 it was extended to a two-year programme and in 1990 it became known as Youth Training (YT). In 1991, it was replaced by Youth Credits/Training Credits, which allowed young people to 'purchase' their own training up to a specified value. The Modern Apprenticeship (MA) was introduced in 1994, which was an employer-based training programme that leads to a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) at Level 3 (Roberts, 1995). Modern Apprenticeships offer training in over 80 sectors of industry to young adults under the age of 25. National Traineeships (NTs) were also introduced; these were similar to the MA, although these were at a NVQ Level 2. Changes in names of the apprenticeship were made, however the programmes remained the same; the NT became termed Foundation Modern Apprenticeship (FMA) and what was known as the MA (NVQ at Level 3) became termed the Advanced Modern Apprenticeship (AMA) (further changes were made in 2004, see www.apprenticeships.org.uk).

Table A1: Main youth programmes

DATE	PROGRAMME	AIMS
1975 - 1977	Job Creation Programme	Full-time paid work for up to 12 months on projects of benefit to the local community. Priority age group: 16-24.
1978 - 1983	Youth Opportunities Scheme (YOPS)	Up to 12 months work experience and training for unemployed school leavers aged 16-18.
1983 - 1990	Youth Training Scheme (YTS)	Training and work experience for 16/17-year-old school leavers; initially one-year programme, became two-year in 1986.
1990 - 1998	Youth Training (YT)	Replaced YTS; main programme for unemployed 16- to 17-year-olds until 1998.
1994 to present	Modern Apprenticeship (MA) now called Advanced Modern Apprenticeship (AMA)	Aim: to improve the supply of craft, supervisory and technical skills within industry. Combines education (NVQ Level 3) and work in over 80 industries; eligibility: 16- to 24-year-olds.
1997 to present	National Traineeship (NT) now called Foundation Modern Apprenticeship (FMA)	Replaced YT as the main work-based route to NVQ Level 2; eligibility: 16- to 24-year-olds.
1998 to present	Work-Based Training for Young People (WBTYP)	Made up of AMA, FMA, other training and life skills.
1998 to present	New Deal for the Young Unemployed (NDYP)	Leading element of Welfare-to-Work programme. For those aged 18-24 who have been unemployed for 6 months or more. Key features: Gateway, Options, Follow-Through.

Source: House of Commons Research Paper (2003)

There have also been changes in adult training (see Table A2). The Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) was introduced in the 1970s for unemployed adults and was described as "modestly successful and well-funded" (Evans, 1997). The Community Programme then became the main adult government-supported training scheme in 1982. In 1988, Employment Training (ET) was introduced to overcome skills shortages, and in 1996, Project Work was piloted, which was mandatory for the long-term unemployed aged 25 and over. In 1993 government programmes for adults took the broad term Training for Work (TfW), which later became Work-Based Training for Adults (WBTA).

Table A2: Main adult programmes

DATE	PROGRAMME	AIMS
1972 - 1985	Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS)	Provided training on request from unemployed adults, subject to an economic need for skills, enabled adults to change occupations quickly and promote adult training.
1982 - 1988	Community Programme (CP)	A year's temporary full-time or part-time work on projects of benefit to the community.
1982 - 1988	Voluntary Projects Programme	For the unemployed the opportunity to undertake constructive activity on an informal, part-time basis (usually voluntary sector).
1988 - 1993	Employment Training (ET)	Aimed at long-term unemployed; up to one year of training, designed to qualify people for work.
1993 - 1998	Training for Work (TfW)	Replaced ET; main training programme for unemployed adults.
1998 to present	Work-Based Training for Adults (WBTA) (now Work-Based Learning for Adults, since 1999)	Replaced TfW. Designed to help long-term unemployed back into work; for those aged 25 and over, who have been unemployed for 6 months or more; four elements: short job-focused training; longer occupational training; basic employment training; self-employment support.
1998	New Deal for the Long-term Unemployed (NDLTU)	For those aged 25 or over who have been unemployed for more than 18 months. Key features: Gateway, full-time activity, Follow-Through.

Source: House of Commons Research Paper (2003)

Institutional changes also took place by the organisations that had operational responsibility for the programmes. The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) ceased to exist and from 1988 the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) in England and Wales and the Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) in Scotland administered the YTS. The TECs/LECs were intended to tailor programmes to the needs of the local economy (Roberts, 1995). More recently, further changes have been made. The Learning and Skills Councils (LSCs) have replaced the

TECs/LECs (since April 2001) and Connexions has amalgamated youth services providing advice and information on careers, housing, money, health and relationships for those aged between 14 and 19 (www.connexions-direct.com). Upon abolition of the TECs all adult training was transferred to the Employment Service (ES), which also changed to become Jobcentre Plus.

APPENDIX B

LAUNCH OF THE NEW DEALS

The main programmes in the New Deal family of policies were all launched in 1998. The launches took place during different times over the year, either in the form of pilots or nationally (see Table B1). Subsequent additions and alterations were made to the programmes at different stages. The first programme to be launched was the New Deal for Young People (NDYP) in the form of 12 pilots or 'Pathfinder' areas in January. This was followed by its national launch in April. The New Deal for Musicians was added to this programme as an option in October 1999. This was followed with the national launch of New Deal for the Long-Term Unemployed (NDLTU) in June of the same year, which was piloted in November in 28 areas. Some changes were made to this programme in April 2000 and it was further 're-engineered' in April of the following year. The New Deal for Lone Parents (NDLP) was launched nationally in October 1998 and the New Deal for Disabled People was piloted in six areas in October 1998 and then a further six areas in April 1999 before the national launch in April 2000.

Table B1: New Deal programme launch dates

Date		Programme	Action
1998	January	New Deal for Young People	Launched in 12 Pathfinder areas
	April (6th)	New Deal for Young People	National launch
	June (29th)	New Deal for Long-term Unemployed	National launch
	Oct (26th)	New Deal for Lone Parents New Deal for Disabled People	National for all clients 6 Pilots
	November	New Deal for Long-term Unemployed	28 pilots
1999	April	New Deal for Disabled People	6 pilots
	Oct	New Deal for Musicians	For young people only
2000	April	Changes to New Deal for Long-term Unemployed New Deal for Disabled People	Nationally National launch
2001	April	Re-engineered New Deal for Long-term Unemployed	Nationally

Each New Deal programme has its own eligibility criteria and levels of provision. Furthermore, a number of changes have been made to them since their inception. These will be fully detailed for the two compulsory programmes, the NDYP and

ND25+, in the next section. This aims to be a comprehensive and up-to-date account, as much as possible, of the programmes as they stand.

THE NEW DEAL FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND NEW DEAL FOR LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED

New Deal for Young People

The New Deal for Young People (NDYP) was first introduced in 'Pathfinder' areas, the objective of which was to provide lessons for the national roll-out. The NDYP has ostensibly remained the same since its inception.

The national programme was launched in April 1998. NDYP provides advice and guidance, work experience, education, training and entry into paid work. Its main objective is to find clients a lasting job or equip them with the skills that are required in the labour market. The programme aimed to help those aged between 18 and 24 who have been unemployed and claiming Jobseeker's Allowance for six months or more to find work and improve their prospects of remaining in sustained employment. There are also criteria for early entry.[1] The overall objective of this policy, as set out in New Labour's manifesto, was to get 250,000 people to move off welfare and into work over a four-year period.

There are three main components to the NDYP. These are the Gateway, Options and Follow-Through. The Gateway commences with a main interview with a New Deal Personal Adviser (NDPA). Each New Deal client or participant is assigned their own adviser and remains on their caseload for the duration of the programme. The first interview lasts for approximately an hour and the objective is to complete an action plan. Questions are asked under the headings of employment history,

[1] These include: people with disabilities; with literacy/numeracy difficulties; with English (or Welsh or Gaelic) as a second language need; ex-regulars; ex-offenders; lone parents; returners to the labour market; victims of large-scale redundancies; those who have recently left local authority care; those who have been continuously unemployed for 6 months apart from short breaks totalling not more than 28 days; and others judged by the ES to be at a severe disadvantage in their search for work.

qualifications, financial commitments, personal details and career aims. Actions for the client are agreed during this meeting and a copy is given to the client to adhere to.

Subsequently the client is seen every week for half an hour, for up to four months. During this time the NDPA will talk through the client's job search actions, assist with job search, give careers advice and guidance, and provide access to a range of other forms of help, such as assistance in improving basic skills and confidence building, which are usually done by referring them to training providers.

The primary objective is to try and find the client sustained employment, that is a job lasting at least 13 weeks. However, if at the end of the four months (Gateway period) the client is still without employment, one of four 'Options' are on offer. These are subsidised employment, Full-Time Education and Training (FTET), work with the Environmental Task Force (ETF) or work with the Voluntary Sector (VS). All of the options are for a period of six months.[2]

Subsidised employment is whereby an employer is paid a subsidy in order to take on a New Deal client. An amount of £60 a week is given for a full-time position and £40 per week for a part-time one. The employer is expected to pay the going rate for the job and all other usual terms and conditions apply. The New Deal 'employee' is required to be trained for at least a day a week, this can be in the form of either in-house training or day-release with a training provider. Funds are available towards the cost of training of up to £750. After the six-month period it is hoped that there will be a full-time position made available for the client. Employers are not, however, obliged to make employment available.

The employment option also includes a self-employment route. This became available in June 1998. The New Deal client receives the help of a business mentor. There are three stages to this: an introductory session, a short business

[2] In some areas FTET is for 12 months.

course and then a test trading period for six months whereby benefits are paid as well as £15.38 extra per week. A grant of £400 is available under this route.

The FTET option is for those clients who do not have qualifications at NVQ Level two or equivalent. This option can also be joined if qualifications are held, but there is a need for further vocational qualifications in order to gain employment. Jobseeker's Allowance is still received by the client and resources in terms of books and materials are provided free of charge. £750 is also available, as for the subsidised employment option. This option was initially for a duration of 12 months, but is now six months.

The VS and Environmental Task Force options are very similar in structure in that they both combine work placements and training. Work placements are designed to help the local community or improve the environment and the training is either delivered in-house or by a provider. Placements for the VS could, for example, involve fundraising or organising local projects. The type of work available through the ETF option can, for instance, include repairing homes, looking after the countryside or energy and water conservation projects. At the end of these options the client is awarded a certificate of their achievements as well as a reference for use in future applications. New Deal clients on the VS or ETF are guaranteed at least the same amount as their Jobseeker's Allowance, plus an amount of £15.38 per week. In some instances the placement provider may offer clients waged employment and the client is free to choose which to take. As with the subsidised employment option, there is £750 made available towards the cost of training.

The Follow-Through period follows one of the four options to ensure that as many young people as possible move on from their option into jobs. This is usually for a period of four months. The emphasis of this stage is building on the progress that has been made during the New Deal. The client will continue to get advice and help with finding a job.

There is also a New Deal for Musicians within the 18-24 New Deal structure. An appointment is set up by the NDPA with the New Deal client and a music industry consultant. The client has an opportunity to present their work and get some feedback over two or three meetings. After the Gateway period, there are essentially two options that are open to the client, either the self-employment route or to take an open-learning programme. The former is a 12-month programme and every client is assigned a music co-ordinator. £400 is made available for equipment, however, there are no top-up on benefits as there are for EFT and VS. Reviews are carried out once every two months to check progress.

The NDYP programme has not changed much since its launch. The only key changes have been that the FTET is only a six-month option in some areas and that one month into the Gateway, the client is obliged to participate in 'gateway to work' – this is a two-week intensive programme which offers skills such as job search, CV writing and team-building.

New Deal for Long-Term Unemployed

The New Deal for Long-Term Unemployed (NDLTU or ND25+) is also part of the government's wider strategy for helping people move away from welfare dependency and into work. It was launched nationally on the 29th June 1998 with the aim of helping people find work or improve their prospects of doing so.

ND25+ had three overall objectives. These objectives are to help people into jobs, improve their prospects of staying in and progressing in employment and to enhance their employability. The aim is to help people who are aged 25 and over and who have been unemployed and claming Jobseeker's Allowance for two years or more. Like the NDYP, there were early entry criteria for those who face particular disadvantages in the labour market.[3] Significant changes have been

[3] Early entry for ND25+, pre-April 2001: people who have been claiming Jobseeker's Allowance continuously for a year or more; people with disabilities, literacy/numeracy difficulties, English as a second language need, ex-offenders, other early entry; those claiming other benefits; linking rule.

made to the ND25+ since its inception, and these will be set out below as the programme has evolved.

The first stage of the initial ND25+ programme was a series of interviews with a NDPA known as the Advisory Interview Process (AIP). The New Deal client had an obligation to attend a series of interviews with a NDPA, who would help with job search and provide guidance of opportunities available under the New Deal provision. A tailored programme would be drawn up to improve job prospects under a range of measures.

To begin with, only two options were available under this programme. These were subsidised employment and employment and training opportunities. The former provided employers a subsidy of £75 a week for the period of six months (for 30 hours, £50 a week for 16-29 hours) who were then in return obliged to pay wages equivalent to or higher than this amount. The latter option provided the opportunity for the client to gain up to one year of vocational training whilst still receiving Jobseeker's Allowance. It was recognised that the client group for which this programme was aimed at was diverse in terms of age and employment-related needs (Molley and Ritchie, 2000). Therefore, a range of pilots with slight variations of the programme were introduced in 28 locations in November 1998.

The pilots were built on the June measures with the aim of testing out the effectiveness of different approaches to help the client group. There was a set of common features for all the pilots which were a Gateway period of between six and 13 weeks (in some exceptional cases 17 weeks), followed by an Intensive Activity Period (IAP), a full-time 13-week programme and then a period of Follow-Through. The IAP was usually a full-time programme of work experience, guidance and job search tailored to the client's needs. Follow-Through consisted of advisory interviews and further vocational guidance and access to programmes offered by what was then the ES and WBLA or TfW. Also, central to all of the pilots were a top-up payment of £15 per week to clients and the availability of the employment subsidy after six weeks of being on the Gateway.

The additional features of the pilots were a different number of months of unemployment before any intervention took place; these were at 12 months of unemployment (a third of the pilots) or at 18 months of unemployment (there were also some early entrants). Other differences were in terms of developing innovative ways of enhancing employability and different delivery models.

Three major changes were made to the national programme in April 2000. These were an improved advisory process, access to a range of external Gateway services and access to a Jobseeker's Grant. As a result of these enhancements, the AIP was renamed as Gateway, as is the first stage on the NDYP; also during this period, rather than two-weekly contact with NDPAs, this became weekly. There was a new range of Gateway provision made available to clients, which ranged from specialist careers advice to help for special groups, for example those with health problems and ethnic minorities amongst others.

Further changes were made in April 2001 and a 're-engineered' New Deal for over 25s was introduced nationally. The programme was extended and enhanced to provide clients with access to greater and a more tailored range of support and provision. Eligibility was changed from two years to 18 months and so were the early entry criteria.[4] The changes brought the ND25+ more in line with NDYP (Wilkinson, 2003).

The current structure of ND25+ is similar to that of the NDYP. There is a Gateway period of four months, followed by an IAP and then Follow-Through. As with the Gateway for NDYP, the client receives help from a NDPA who will support the job-search process. An action plan is drawn up with the objective of finding a job. If a job has not been found during the Gateway period then the IAP commences. This is designed to give people the skills and the experience they need to move into work. It is flexible so as to provide help tailored to an individual's needs. This individual package of help is put together from a number of different options. The

[4] Early entry for enhanced ND25+: people with disabilities, ex-offenders, refugees, homeless people, people recovering from drug abuse.

client can get a mix of different kinds of assistance. The options include self-employment support (including access to New Deal for Musicians), Basic Employability Training (BET), Education and Training Opportunities (ETO), flexible packages of support that can combine work experience, work placements, work-focused training and help with motivation and soft skills. During this time the client gets their Jobseeker's Allowance (and other benefits) and an extra £15.38 per week.

It is possible for the clients to move into subsidised employment at any stage of the programme and if this is the case, then their benefits stop and the employer pays the going rate for the job. As in the initial programme, the employer receives a subsidy towards the wage for up to six months (the amount has not changed). The job is not guaranteed at the end of this period.

In most cases, the IAP will last 13 weeks, although for some people this can be extended for up to a further 13 weeks. Additional help and support in the form of the 'Follow-Through' is available for those who have not found a job after the IAP. This extra support will help the client build on the work experience and skills that have been gained during the IAP. The Follow-Through can last for a minimum of six weeks up to a maximum of 13 weeks.

There has been a succession of improvements and enhancements of the ND25+. A summary of the key changes to the ND25+ have been: the number of months of unemployment after which the ND25+ commences is now 18 months and no longer two years; and there is a longer Gateway (four months from 13 weeks); there are more options during the IAP and there is more emphasis on work,rather than on just training; Follow-Through is for a minimum of six weeks and a maximum of 13 weeks; and finally, there are weekly signing-on dates and early entry criteria has changed.

KEY DIFFERENCES FROM PREVIOUS POLICY MEASURES

The New Deal has been presented as being different to what has gone before. The New Deal website described New Deal as being an, "Ambitious, different, opportunity to get people off benefits and into work"[5]. In addition, the Employment Service was presenting 'What makes New Deal different' in terms of: partnership, individual focus, quality and resources (ES, nd, b).

One of the key features of the New Deal is its delivery, which is carried out through local partnerships, which may include the ES, local authorities, training providers, environmental groups and voluntary organisations amongst others. It is, however, co-ordinated by the ES, although there are some exceptions: in some areas the New Deal is brought together by private sector organisations. Within a relatively short time, new and previously untried delivery arrangements had been implemented and strategic delivery 'partnerships' were established.

Local partnerships have been developed based on four distinct arrangements. These are: Independent Contracts, Joint Venture Partnership, Consortia and Private Sector arrangements (Tavistock Institute, 1998). Independent Contracts are whereby the ES individually contracts various service providers in each area. An example of this form of delivery is being undertaken in Cornwall. The Joint Venture Partnership (JVP) is where the local ES is one of a number of equal partners who collectively contract with ES regional offices to deliver programmes. Coventry is an example of this form of delivery. Consortia is where the ES contracts with a lead organisation representing, and in turn contracting with, individual providers, which is exemplified in Central Lancashire, where Lawtec has the main contract. The Private Sector delivery model is one where the ES contracts directly with private employers who then lead delivery. An example of this is in Hackney where the lead contractor is REED Employment.

[5] www.newdeal.gov.uk; viewed 11/02/99: 11.35.

The partnerships have evolved and will continue to do so with experience over time. Despite there being variations in the way in which the New Deal is delivered, the programme for young people is portrayed as being one that is consistent.

Partnerships are important in that the development of the skills base can, as a result, be tailored to local businesses and the needs of the local economy. These partnerships are seen to be advantageous as they will have knowledge of the local labour market and may have developed from existing networks, partnerships and experience of labour market intervention. Also, each month a New Deal Partnership Newsletter is published in order to give partners a chance to hear about New Deal developments and to share ideas about good practice and innovation.

To begin with, the New Deal programmes were delivered through 144 Units of Delivery (UoD) (Hasluck, 2000). However, changes have taken place since the merger of the Benefits Agency and the ES. The formation of JobCentre Plus has meant the amalgamation of some units to form larger ones. For example, the two UoDs, Bristol and South Gloucestershire and Bath and North East Somerset, now form JobCentre Plus West of England. It replicates the boundaries of the former area of Avon and also that of the local Learning and Skills Council West of England (LSCWoE) as well as the Connexions service in the West of England.

Within the New Deal framework there is a much more personalised approach, in that each individual is assigned to a NDPA whom the client will see on a weekly basis at the beginning of the programme and maintains a relationship with throughout. On this basis it is sold as a high-quality guidance service:

> It was the first time the unemployed had been given intensive personal help with one adviser to see them through the whole process and pick them up if things did not work out.
>
> Toynbee and Walker (2001:14)

Hence, the New Deal is individualised and tailored to the needs of the client and action plans are drawn up accordingly. In fact the NDPA has been described as providing a 'pivotal role' (Millar, 2000).

With regard to the third point, quality is described as having been built into every stage of the process; hence, each stage of the New Deal process is presented as being designed to deliver help of the highest quality. Quality help, training, and jobs for jobseekers add up to the best possible preparation for work. Finally, in terms of resources, the government has committed £3.5bn over the next four years. Table B2 shows a breakdown of expenditure. Three-quarters of the resources are allocated to NDYP.

Table B2: Expenditure on New Deal programmes

Programme	Planned Expenditure (£ millions)	% of total
Young unemployed (18-24)	2620	73
Older long-term unemployed (25+)	450	13
Lone parents	190	5
Disabled people	200	6
Partners of the unemployed	60	2
Childcare	40	1
Total	*3560*	*100*

Source: HMSO (1998) in Coates (2000:186)

The overall aim of the ND is essentially to increase the employability of the individual. There are a number of key elements that make the New Deal 'new', some of which have already been discussed. Overall, as a package it offers a holistic programme with different stages and options, not only offering training and work experience for those who need to enhance their skills, but also offering advice and counselling on issues such as homelessness and drug/alcohol dependency. There is also employer involvement offering real jobs with real employers. Moreover there are incentives for employers in the form of subsidies as well as funding for the training and additional funds, such as the Adviser Discretion Fund (ADF), which can be used to buy interview clothes for the client and haircuts amongst other items.

Also, for the first time in training/unemployment policy there was a manifesto commitment to help excluded or disadvantaged groups return to the labour market. In particular, there is early entry for people with literacy or numeracy difficulties, language problems, and those who are ex-offenders and so on (there are different early entry criteria for NDYP and ND25+).

Something that may not be presented as a positive aspect of the newness of the New Deal and which caused a split in New Labour is compulsion (Coates, 2000). There is 'no fifth option' of life on the dole and as a consequence, sanctions apply to those who refuse to participate; these are initially for a two-week period, followed by a four-week and a six-month period upon second and third refusal respectively (Finn, 2001). In order to resolve such issues there is a process of independent arbitration.

Despite the New Deal being branded as new and all encompassing, others have argued that the New Deal is not new at all and is a re-hash of former policies. Jeff and Spence (2000) have described the New Deal as, "the same old wine in a new bottle" (2000:42). They assert that the New Deal has 'cobbled' together elements from different programmes of the past, giving examples such that: the Gateway and sanctions are taken from 'Project Work' (launched in 1995); the employer's subsidy of the exact same amount as for NDYP (£60 per week) was available from Workstart in 1993; similarly the Voluntary and Environmental options were also available on the Community Enterprise Programme and subsequent Community Programme.

Fieldhouse et al (2002a) also question what is new about the New Deal. They argue that there are elements that are presented as being new when in fact they are not. In particular, they put forward the argument that it is similar to Youth Training with respect to sanctions, as they were imposed on those who chose not to or were unable to participate.

APPENDIX C

Design of the New Deal 18-24 Year Olds (DfEE, 1997b)

ARRANGEMENTS FOR ENSURING THAT NEW DEAL PROVISION MEETS THE NEEDS OF ALL ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS

1. All young people who enter the New Deal will be helped to find new work and to have the opportunity to enhance their employability and job prospects through provision which identifies and meets individual needs. A large number of young black people, particularly young black men, will be eligible to participate in the New Deal. Training and employment programmes have in the past been perceived as having little impact on levels of black unemployment. The Government is committed to ensuring that the New Deal will actively promote equality of opportunity and outcome for young people of all ethnic and racial groups.

2. The New Deal will include the following arrangements to ensure that it meets the needs of young people from all ethnic and racial groups, and is delivered in accordance with the Department for Education and Employment's racial equality strategy.

LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS

3. Local New Deal partnerships will involve, as appropriate, ethnic minority organisations. These organisations will be fully consulted in the local implementation and development of the programme.

DELIVERY ARRANGEMENTS

4. In accordance with local circumstances, delivery arrangements for each element of the programme – the Gateway, four options and Follow-through support – will promote racial equality and reflect detailed consideration of how best to deliver provision for young people from ethnic minorities.

ETHNIC MONITORING

5. Ethnic monitoring will enable the ES and local New Deal partnerships to identify barriers to equal opportunity and assess racial equality outcomes. The ES will begin to carry out ethnic monitoring of JSA claimants in early 1998. This will mean that information about the participation on the New Deal of young people from ethnic minorities will begin to be available within a few months of the New Deal's launch.

6. The progress of New Deal participants will be tracked at each stage – from entry to the Gateway through to access to the options and outcomes after options. The New Deal personal advisers who will be working with young

people will receive guidance on the problems facing people from ethnic minorities and advice on the action to take to establish why individuals are not accepted for jobs and options to which they are referred. (The ES personal advisers who will provide personal help and support to young people during the New Deal undertake a range of training, including training in equal opportunities awareness.)

7. The Commission for Racial Equality has been asked to advise on arrangements for ethnic monitoring, and on the appropriate training and guidance for ES people to support its introduction.

PURPOSES OF ETHNIC MONITORING

8. As far as possible, young people who need the opportunities for work, education and training provided by the four New Deal options should be able to take up a place in the most appropriate option for them. All four options should deliver high quality opportunities.

9. In that context, ES Districts and their local New Deal partnerships will need continually to monitor the extent to which young people from ethnic minorities participate across the full range of options, without a disproportionate imbalance in representation within, for example, the Employment option. Similarly, it will be important to monitor the extent of participation across the range of Gateway provision.

10. Whenever necessary, partnerships will need to identify action to ensure participation across the full range of options and Gateway provision for young people from ethnic minorities.

EVALUATION

11. The New Deal for young people will be comprehensively evaluated. This will include analyses of the impact on young people in different groups, including different ethnic groups.

LOCAL DELIVERY: INVOLVEMENT OF ETHNIC MINORITY ORGANISATIONS, BUSINESSES, COMMUNITY GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS

12. In accordance with local circumstances, ES Districts and their local partnerships should aim to secure the involvement of ethnic minority business, organisations and individuals in delivering New Deal provision.

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRES

These were printed in booklet format

QUESTIONNAIRE

School for Policy Studies

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

EVALUATION OF POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING

CURRENT TRAINEES

CONFIDENTIAL

Evaluation of Positive Action Training

The aim of this questionnaire is to help evaluate the effectiveness of Positive Action Training Programmes, in meeting their objectives of redressing the under-representation of minority ethnic groups in various industries and occupations.

As a trainee, your input will be invaluable. Your experience can help establish the strengths and weaknesses of the current programme and provide the means to improve it. The findings will inform policy on issues of labour market disadvantage among minority ethnic groups.

All the responses will be completely **CONFIDENTIAL** and **ANONYMOUS**. None of your answers will be traceable back to you.

Your time is very much appreciated. If you would like to contribute further to this important research area, please include your contact details at the end of the questionnaire so I can get in touch with you for the next stage of the research, which will include focus groups and face to face interviews.

Thank you very much.

Baljinder Virk

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*Please complete the form legibly, in **BLOCK CAPITALS** using blue or black ink and tick the boxes where necessary. Some of the questions will not apply and therefore the questions have been routed. Just follow the instructions and complete the questionnaire with as much information as you can.*

PERSONAL PROFILE

1. Are you : -

(1) ☐ MALE
(2) ☐ FEMALE

2. How old are you?

(1) ☐ UNDER 18
(2) ☐ 18 - 24
(3) ☐ 25 - 34
(4) ☐ 35 - 49
(5) ☐ 50 AND OVER

PRE-POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING

3. What were you doing immediately prior to taking on the Positive Action Traineeship? **(please tick ONE option and fill in the relevant information)**

(i) ☐ IN PAID WORK, INCLUDING SELF-EMPLOYMENT

What was your job title in full? .....

.....

Were you working ☐ Full-time

☐ Part-time

Go to question 5a

(ii) ☐ IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION

What qualification were you studying for? .....

.....

What was the level of it? .....

Were you studying ☐ Full-time

☐ Part-time

Go to question 5a

(iii) ☐ GOVERNMENT TRAINING SCHEME (e.g. Modern Apprenticeship, Youth Training Scheme, New Deal, Work-Based Training for Adults etc)

Go to question 5a

(iv) ☐ UNEMPLOYED

☐ REGISTERED AT A BENEFIT OFFICE

☐ NOT REGISTERED, and ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB

☐ NOT REGISTERED, and NOT ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB

→ *Answer question 4*

(v) ☐ LOOKING AFTER THE HOME / FAMILY

(vi) ☐ OTHER
Please specify .....

→ *Go to question 5a*

4. How long were you unemployed for?

.....MTH(S) ..... YEAR(S)

5a. Which income band best represented your usual GROSS pay the last time you were paid, that is, including overtime, bonuses, commission or tips, but before any deductions for tax, National Insurance, pensions, union dues and so on?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN £8,000 p.a.
(2) ☐ £8,000 - £14,999 p.a.
(3) ☐ £15,000 - £19,999 p.a.
(4) ☐ £20,000 - £24,999 p.a.
(5) ☐ £25,000 - £29,999 p.a.
(6) ☐ OVER £30,000 p.a.

→ *Answer 5b*

(7) ☐ NEVER BEEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT → *Go to question 6a*

5b. When was this payment made?

..... MONTH ..... YEAR

6a. What was the highest level qualification you held PRIOR to taking on the Positive Action Traineeship?

(1) ☐ DEGREE LEVEL QUALIFICATION or EQUIVALENT (INCLUDING PGCE)
(2) ☐ DIPLOMA IN HIGHER EDUCATION
(3) ☐ HNC/HND
(4) ☐ ONC/OND
(5) ☐ BTEC, BEC OR TEC
(6) ☐ TEACHING QUALIFICATION (EXCLUDING PGCE)
(7) ☐ NURSING OR OTHER MEDICAL QUALIFICATION
(8) ☐ OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION QUALIFICATION
(9) ☐ A-LEVELs / AS LEVELs
(10) ☐ SCE
(11) ☐ NVQ , please specify Level .....
(12) ☐ GNVQ/GSVQ
(13) ☐ GCSEs
(14) ☐ RSA
(15) ☐ CITY & GUILDS
(16) ☐ OVERSEAS QUALIFICATION
(17) ☐ OTHER, Please specify.....
(18) ☐ NONE

→ *Go to question 7*

→ Answer 6b & 6c

→ *Go to question 7*

6b. If you have any OVERSEAS QUALIFICATIONS, in which country were they obtained?

.....

6c. Please list them and specify, if you can what the UK equivalents are?

QUALIFICATION	UK EQUIVALENT
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

DETAILS OF POSITIVE ACTION TRAINEESHIP

7. When did you start the Positive Action Traineeship? …….. MTH …….. YEAR

8. What is the planned length of your Traineeship?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 1 YEAR
(2) ☐ 1 YEAR
(3) ☐ 2 YEARS
(4) ☐ 3 YEARS
(5) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……

9. What were your reason(s) for starting the Positive Action Traineeship? (you may choose as many as you wish)

(1) ☐ CHANGE OF CAREER
(2) ☐ GET A JOB
(3) ☐ GAIN WORK EXPERIENCE
(4) ☐ ACQUIRE QUALIFICATIONS
(5) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……

……

10. What is your job title as a trainee?

……

11. What is the name of your Host Placement Employer?

……

12. What does your Host Placement organisation do or make? (Describe as fully as possible)

……

……

13. What type of organisation is your Host Placement Employer?

(1) ☐ PRIVATE COMPANY
(2) ☐ LOCAL AUTHORITY or OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR
(3) ☐ CHARITY/VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION/NOT FOR PROFIT HOUSING ASSOCIATION
(4) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……

14. What is the minority ethnic make up of the organisation that you are placed (a rough estimate will do)?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 5%
(2) ☐ 5% - 10%
(3) ☐ OVER 10%
(4) ☐ DON'T KNOW

15. What are your main duties and responsibilities as a trainee?

.....

.....

.....

16. What qualifications, if any, are you working towards during your traineeship?

(1) ☐ DEGREE LEVEL QUALIFICATION or EQUIVALENT (INCLUDING PGCE)
(2) ☐ DIPLOMA IN HIGHER EDUCATION
(3) ☐ HNC/HND
(4) ☐ ONC/OND
(5) ☐ BTEC, BEC OR TEC
(6) ☐ TEACHING QUALIFICATION (EXCLUDING PGCE)
(7) ☐ NURSING OR OTHER MEDICAL QUALIFICATION
(8) ☐ OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION QUALIFICATION
(9) ☐ A-LEVELs / AS LEVELs
(10) ☐ SCE
(11) ☐ NVQ , please specify Level .....
(12) ☐ GNVQ/GSVQ
(13) ☐ GCSEs
(14) ☐ RSA
(15) ☐ CITY & GUILDS
(16) ☐ OTHER, Please specify.....
(17) ☐ NONE

17. What other training, if any, have you undertaken as part of your traineeship?

(1) ☐ UNDERSTANDING FINANCE
(2) ☐ FINANCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY
(3) ☐ INTERVIEWING SKILLS (INTERVIEW)
(4) ☐ OPERATIONAL PLANNING
(5) ☐ STRATEGIC PLANNING
(6) ☐ TEAM BUILDING & LEADERSHIP
(7) ☐ PRESENTATION SKILLS
(8) ☐ CHANGE MANAGEMENT
(9) ☐ NEGOTIATION SKILLS
(10) ☐ MARKETING YOUR BUSINESS
(11) ☐ PROJECT MANAGEMENT
(12) ☐ DEALING WITH RACISM
(13) ☐ MANAGE AND SUPERVISE PEOPLE
(14) ☐ IT TRAINING
(15) ☐ OTHER please specify .....

.....

(16) ☐ NONE

18 What other courses or training, apart from your main training/college course, are you planning to undertake?

.....

.....

.....

19. Are there any courses that you would like to attend that are NOT on offer? If so, please list them.

.....

.....

.....

20. How much is your training allowance?

(1) ☐ UNDER £4,000 p.a.
(2) ☐ £4,000 - £7,999 p.a.
(3) ☐ £8,000 - £11,999 p.a.
(4) ☐ £12,000 - £15,999 p.a.
(5) ☐ OVER £16,000 p.a.
(6) ☐ DO NOT RECEIVE AN ALLOWANCE

21. How did you hear about the traineeship?

(1) ☐ NEWSPAPER
(2) ☐ HEARD FROM A FRIEND/RELATIVE
(3) ☐ CEED PUBLICITY
(4) ☐ GENERAL INQUIRY AT CEED
(5) ☐ OTHER MINORITY ETHNIC ORGANISATION
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify.....

EVALUATING THE POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING PROGRAMME

22. How far do you agree with the following comments

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
a) The training I receive is useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) The work experience element is useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) The qualifications I will gain are useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) I feel supported by my Training and Development Officer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) I feel supported by my supervisor at my placement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My experience as a CEED Trainee will : -					
f) Make it more likely for me to get a job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Make it more likely to get a job that I really want	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Further my career development	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Help me get the qualifications I want	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. In your opinion, what are the main strengths of the Positive Action Traineeship in relation to your own needs and experiences?

.....

.....

.....

24. In your opinion, what are the main weaknesses of the Positive Action Traineeship in relation to your own needs and experiences?

.....

.....

.....

25. Do you have any suggestions for improvements that would be of benefit to you and other trainees? (these can relate to the Positive Action Training organisation, the Training and Employment Officer, Training Provider, Host Placement etc)

.....

.....

.....

.....

26a. Do you feel that you have been treated unfairly during your placement for reasons which you think were to do with race/colour, your religious or cultural background?

(1) ☐ YES *Answer 26b*
(0) ☐ NO *Go to question 27a*

26b. Please describe the nature of the problem and how it was resolved?

.....

.....

.....

.....

27a. Has this been your only placement during the Traineeship period?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 28a*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 27b*

27b. What was the reason for the previous placement coming to an end?

.....

.....

.....

CAREER PLANS POST-TRAINEESHIP

28a. Is your traineeship in the career area that you wish to embark on?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 29a*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 28b*

28b. Please explain why not:

.....

.....

.....

29a. After your traineeship, would you like to continue working as an employee at your Host Placement Organisation if the opportunity arose?

(1) ☐ YES *Answer 29b*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 29c*

29b Are you likely to be employed there after your traineeship?

(1) ☐ YES *Answer 30*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 29c*

29c. Why not?

.....

.....

.....

30. What are your career ambitions?

.....

.....

.....

31. What do you hope to do after the traineeship?

(1) ☐ FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT
(2) ☐ FULL-TIME EDUCATION/TRAINING
(3) ☐ SELF-EMPLOYMENT
(4) ☐ DON'T KNOW
(5) ☐ OTHER, please specify.....

GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT BARRIERS

32a. Which of the following barriers have you found to hinder your career development in general? (Tick as many as you wish)

(1) ☐ PERSONAL/DOMESTIC CIRCUMSTANCES
(2) ☐ LACK OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES
(3) ☐ LACK OF INFORMATION
(4) ☐ LACK OF EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS
(5) ☐ LACK OF WORK EXPERIENCE
(6) ☐ LONG-TERM SICKNESS/DISABILITY
(7) ☐ CULTURAL VALUES
(8) ☐ UNABLE TO GET MOTIVATED
(9) ☐ LACK OF SUITABLE WORK
(10) ☐ LACK OF ADEQUATE WAGE

→ *Go to question 33*

(11) ☐ DISCRIMINATION → *Answer 32b*

(12) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

.....

→ *Go to question 33*

32b. If you ticked DISCRIMINATION, on what grounds was it? (TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

(1) ☐ AGE
(2) ☐ DISABILITY
(3) ☐ GENDER
(4) ☐ RACE
(5) ☐ RELIGION
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

.....

33. Do you have a mentor? (a mentor is someone within the organisation you are placed at (or employed in similar industry or occupation), who has no other formal responsibility for you as an individual, he/she can offer a work-based trainee support which complements that which is already available from line managers, tutors. A mentor is NOT your Supervisor or Manager)

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

34a. Is there anybody who has been particularly important to you as an example or a role model in making a decision about the future?

(0) ☐ NO *Go to question 35*
(1) ☐ YES *Answer 34b*

34b. Was/is that: -

(1) ☐ a PARENT
(2) ☐ your PARTNER
(3) ☐ a FRIEND
(4) ☐ a COLLEAGUE
(5) ☐ OTHER, PLEASE SPECIFY .....

35a. To what extent have you been **SUPPORTED and ENCOURAGED**, in terms of career development from the following?

	A LOT	SOME	NONE REQUIRED	NONE AVAILABLE
PARENTS				
PARTNER (boy/girlfriend/husband/ wife)				
OTHER FAMILY				
FRIENDS				
COLLEAGUES				
OTHER				

35b. If you answered OTHER, please specify your relationship with this person

.....

36. Were you born in Britain?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to Question 37*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 36b & 36c*

36b. In which country were you born?

.....

36c. In what year did you first come to Britain to settle?

.....

37. Do you have any health problems or disabilities which would affect any kind of paid work that you might do?

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

38. What is your ethnic group?

(1) ☐ BLACK AFRICAN
(2) ☐ BLACK CARIBBEAN
(3) ☐ BLACK OTHER, please specify .....
(4) ☐ INDIAN
(5) ☐ PAKISTANI
(6) ☐ BANGLADESHI
(7) ☐ CHINESE
(8) ☐ ASIAN OTHER please specify .....
(9) ☐ WHITE
(10) ☐ OTHER please specify .....
(11) ☐ PREFER NOT TO SAY

ANY OTHER COMMENTS

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

IMPORTANT

I will also be conducting some interviews with Positive Action Trainees, such as yourself, to follow-up some of the issues explored in this questionnaire. If you would like to take part in an interview then please provide your details below. The information you have given in this form (and in any subsequent interview) will remain completely ANONYMOUS and CONFIDENTIAL.

Would you like to take part in a follow-up interview?

☐ YES *please fill in your contact details below*

☐ NO

CONTACT DETAILS

NAME.....

ADDRESS .....

.....

.....POSTCODE.....

DAY TEL .....MOBILE No.....

EVE. TEL .....

E-MAIL ADDRESS .....

Thank you for filling in the questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

School for Policy Studies

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

EVALUATION OF POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING

PREVIOUS TRAINEES

CONFIDENTIAL

Evaluation of Positive Action Training

The aim of this questionnaire is to help evaluate the effectiveness of Positive Action Training Programmes, in meeting their objectives of redressing the under-representation of minority ethnic groups in various industries and occupations.

As a previous trainee, your input will be invaluable. Your experience can help establish the strengths and weaknesses of the programme and provide the means to improve it. The findings will inform policy on issues of labour market disadvantage among minority ethnic groups.

All the responses will be completely **CONFIDENTIAL** and **ANONYMOUS.** None of your answers will be traceable back to you.

Your time is very much appreciated

Thank you very much.

Baljinder Virk

Please complete the form using blue or black ink and tick the boxes where necessary. Some of the questions will not apply and therefore the questions have been routed. Just follow the instructions and complete the questionnaire with as much information as you can.

PERSONAL PROFILE

1. Are you : -

(1) ☐ MALE
(2) ☐ FEMALE

2. How old are you?

(1) ☐ UNDER 18
(2) ☐ 18 - 24
(3) ☐ 25 - 34
(4) ☐ 35 - 49
(5) ☐ 50 AND OVER

PRE-POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING

3. What were you doing immediately prior to taking on the Positive Action Traineeship?
(please tick ONE option and fill in the relevant information)

(i) ☐ IN PAID WORK, INCLUDING SELF-EMPLOYMENT

What was your job title in full? .....

Were you working ☐ Full-time

☐ Part-time

Go to question 5a

(ii) ☐ IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION

What was the qualification? .....

What was the level of it? .....

Were you studying ☐ Full-time

☐ Part-time

Go to question 5a

(iii) ☐ GOVERNMENT TRAINING SCHEME (e.g. Modern Apprenticeship, Youth Training Scheme, New Deal, Work-Based Training for Adults etc)

Go to question 5a

(iv) ☐ UNEMPLOYED

☐ REGISTERED AT A BENEFIT OFFICE

☐ NOT REGISTERED, BUT ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB

☐ NOT REGISTERED, BUT NOT ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB

→ *Go to question 4*

(v) ☐ LOOKING AFTER THE HOME / FAMILY

(vi) ☐ OTHER
please specify .....

→ *Go to question 5a*

4. How long were you unemployed for?

.....Mth(s) ..... Year(s)

5a. Which income band best represented your usual GROSS pay the last time you were paid BEFORE starting your traineeship, that is, including overtime, bonuses, commission or tips, and before any deductions for tax, National Insurance, pensions, union dues and so on?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN £8,000 p.a.
(2) ☐ £8,000 - £14,999 p.a.
(3) ☐ £15,000 - £19,999 p.a.
(4) ☐ £20,000 - £24,999 p.a.
(5) ☐ £25,000 - £29,999 p.a.
(6) ☐ OVER £30,000 p.a.
(7) ☐ NEVER BEEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT *Go to question 6a*

→ *Answer question 5b*

5b. When was this payment made?

..... MONTH ..... YEAR

6a. What was the highest level qualification you held prior to taking on the Positive Action Traineeship?

(1) ☐ DEGREE LEVEL QUALIFICATION or EQUIVALENT (INCLUDING PGCE)
(2) ☐ DIPLOMA IN HIGHER EDUCATION
(3) ☐ HNC/HND
(4) ☐ ONC/OND
(5) ☐ BTEC, BEC OR TEC
(6) ☐ TEACHING QUALIFICATION (EXCLUDING PGCE)
(7) ☐ NURSING OR OTHER MEDICAL QUALIFICATION
(8) ☐ OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION QUALIFICATION
(9) ☐ A-LEVELs / AS LEVELs
(10) ☐ SCE
(11) ☐ NVQ, Please specify Level .....
(12) ☐ GNVQ/GSVQ
(13) ☐ GCSEs
(14) ☐ RSA
(15) ☐ CITY & GUILDS
(16) ☐ OVERSEAS QUALIFICATION
(17) ☐ OTHER, Please specify.....

(18) ☐ NONE

6b. If you have any OVERSEAS QUALIFICATIONS, in which country were they obtained?

.....

6c. Please list them and specify if you can what the UK equivalents are:-

QUALIFICATION	UK EQUIVALENT
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

DETAILS OF POSITIVE ACTION TRAINEESHIP

7. When did you start the Positive Action Traineeship? …….. MTH …….. YEAR

8. What was the planned length of your Traineeship?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 1 YEAR
(2) ☐ 1 YEAR
(3) ☐ 2 YEARS
(4) ☐ 3 YEARS
(5) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……

9. What were your reason(s) for starting the Positive Action Traineeship? (you may choose as many as you wish)

(1) ☐ CHANGE OF CAREER
(2) ☐ GET A JOB
(3) ☐ GAIN WORK EXPERIENCE
(4) ☐ ACQUIRE QUALIFICATIONS
(5) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……:……

10. What was your job title as a trainee?

……

11. What was the name of your Host Placement Employer? (NOT COMPULSORY QUESTION)

……

12. What did the Host Placement organisation do or make?

……

13. What type of organisation was your Host Placement Employer?

(1) ☐ PRIVATE COMPANY
(2) ☐ LOCAL AUTHORITY or OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR
(3) ☐ CHARITY/VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION/NOT FOR PROFIT HOUSING ASSOCIATION
(4) ☐ OTHER, please specify ……

14. What was the minority ethnic make up of the organisation that you were placed?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 5%
(2) ☐ 5% -10%
(3) ☐ OVER 10%
(4) ☐ DON'T KNOW

15. What were your main duties and responsibilities as a trainee?

.....

.....

16. What qualifications, if any, did you work towards during your traineeship?

(1) ☐ DEGREE LEVEL QUALIFICATION or EQUIVALENT (INCLUDING PGCE)
(2) ☐ DIPLOMA IN HIGHER EDUCATION
(3) ☐ HNC/HND
(4) ☐ ONC/OND
(5) ☐ BTEC, BEC OR TEC
(6) ☐ TEACHING QUALIFICATION (EXCLUDING PGCE)
(7) ☐ NURSING OR OTHER MEDICAL QUALIFICATION
(8) ☐ OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION QUALIFICATION
(9) ☐ A-LEVELs / AS LEVELs
(10) ☐ SCE
(11) ☐ NVQ , Please specify Level .....
(12) ☐ GNVQ/GSVQ
(13) ☐ GCSEs
(14) ☐ RSA
(15) ☐ CITY & GUILDS
(16) ☐ OTHER, Please specify.....
(17) ☐ NONE

17. Did you complete the qualification?

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

18. What other training, if any, did you participate in as part of your Traineeship?

(1) ☐ UNDERSTANDING FINANCE
(2) ☐ FINANCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY
(3) ☐ INTERVIEWING SKILLS (INTERVIEW)
(4) ☐ OPERATIONAL PLANNING
(5) ☐ STRATEGIC PLANNING
(6) ☐ TEAM BUILDING & LEADERSHIP
(7) ☐ PRESENTATION SKILLS
(8) ☐ CHANGE MANAGEMENT
(9) ☐ NEGOTIATION SKILLS
(10) ☐ MARKETING YOUR BUSINESS
(11) ☐ PROJECT MANAGEMENT
(12) ☐ DEALING WITH RACISM
(13) ☐ MANAGE AND SUPERVISE PEOPLE
(14) ☐ IT TRAINING
(15) ☐ OTHER
please specify .....

.....

19. Was there any other training, which you would have liked but was not on offer? If so, please list here: -

.....

.....

20. How much was your training allowance at the time?

(1) ☐ UNDER £4,000
(2) ☐ £4,000 - £7,999
(3) ☐ £8,000 - £11,999
(4) ☐ £12,000 - £15,999
(5) ☐ OVER £16,000
(6) ☐ DID NOT RECEIVE A TRAINING ALLOWANCE

21. How did you hear about the traineeship?

(1) ☐ NEWSPAPER
(2) ☐ HEARD FROM A FRIEND/RELATIVE
(3) ☐ CEED PUBLICITY
(4) ☐ GENERAL INQUIRY AT CEED
(5) ☐ OTHER MINORITY ETHNIC ORGANISATION
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

EVALUATING THE POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING PROGRAMME

22. How far do you agree with the following comments: -

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
a) The training I received was useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) The work experience element was useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) The qualifications I gained were useful in relation to my career aspirations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) I felt supported by my Training and Development Officer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) I felt supported by my supervisor at my placement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

My experience as a CEED (or PATH/PAC) Trainee: -

f) made it more likely for me to get a job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) made it more likely for me to get a job that I really wanted	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) furthered my career development	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) helped me get the qualifications I wanted	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. In your opinion, what were the main strengths of the Positive Action Traineeship in relation to your own needs and experiences?

.....

.....

.....

24. In your opinion, what were the main weaknesses of the Positive Action Traineeship in relation to your own needs and experiences?

.....

.....

.....

25. Do you have any suggestions for improvements that would be of benefit to other trainees? (these can relate to the Positive Action Training organisation, the Training and Development Officer, Training Provider, Host Placement etc)

.....

.....

.....

continue overleaf if necessary

26a. Do you feel that you were ever treated unfairly during your placement for reasons which you think were to do with race / colour or your religious and cultural background?

(1) ☐ YES *Answer 26b*
(0) ☐ NO *Go to question 27a*

26b. Please describe the nature of the problem and how it was resolved?

.....

.....

.....

.....

27a. Was this your only placement during the Traineeship period?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 28*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 27b*

27b. What was the reason for the placement there coming to an end?

.....

.....

28. What were you doing 3 months **AFTER** the traineeship?

(1) ☐ EMPLOYMENT
(2) ☐ FULL-TIME EDUCATION
(3) ☐ FURTHER TRAINING
(4) ☐ SELF-EMPLOYMENT
(5) ☐ UNEMPLOYED
If so, for how long? ..... MTHS
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

CURRENT POSITION

29. Are you currently : -

(1) ☐ IN PAID WORK, INCLUDING SELF-EMPLOYMENT *Answer question 30*
(2) ☐ IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION *Go to question 44a & 44b*
(3) ☐ WAITING TO TAKE UP PAID WORK ALREADY ACCEPTED
(4) ☐ UNEMPLOYED
- ☐ AND REGISTERED AT A BENEFIT OFFICE
- ☐ NOT REGISTERED, BUT ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB
- ☐ NOT REGISTERED, BUT **NOT** ACTIVELY LOOKING FOR A JOB

(5) ☐ LOOKING AFTER THE HOME / FAMILY
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify.....

Go to Question 45

30. What is your job title in full?

.....

31. What is the name of the organisation your work for?

.....

32. What does your employer do or make at the place where you work?

.....

.....

33. Do your job involve supervising or managing other people?

(1) ☐ YES, REGULARLY
(2) ☐ YES, OCCASIONALLY
(3) ☐ NO

34. Are you employed : -

(1) ☐ FULL-TIME
(2) ☐ PART-TIME

35. Is the post : -

(1) ☐ PERMANENT
(2) ☐ TEMPORARY
(3) ☐ OCCASIONAL WORK
(4) ☐ FIXED TERM CONTRACT

36. What type of organisation is your current employer?

(1) ☐ PRIVATE COMPANY
(2) ☐ LOCAL AUTHORITY OR OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR
(3) ☐ CHARITY/VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION/NOT FOR PROFIT HOUSING ASSOCIATION
(4) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

37. Did you have to move to another city/area of the country to get your current employment?

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

38. When did you start your employment in this post?

..... MONTH ..... YEAR

39. Which income band best represents your usual GROSS pay from this job at the moment, that is, including overtime, bonuses, commission or tips, and before any deductions for tax, national insurance, pensions, union dues and so on?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN £8,000 p.a.
(2) ☐ £8,000 - £14,999 p.a.
(3) ☐ £15,000 - £19,999 p.a.
(4) ☐ £20,000 - £24,999 p.a.
(5) ☐ £25,000 - £29,999 p.a.
(6) ☐ OVER £30,000 p.a.

40a. Do you work in the field in which you undertook your Traineeship?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 41a*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 40b*

40b. Why not?

(1) ☐ LITTLE/NO PROSPECTS
(2) ☐ COULD NOT GET A SUITABLE JOB
(3) ☐ DECIDED DID NOT WANT A CAREER IN THAT AREA
(4) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

.....

41a. Are you in your chosen career now?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 42*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 41b*

41b. What is your chosen career? .....

42. Are you in a position that you expected to be in?

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

43a. Are you in a level that you expected to be at?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 45*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 43b*

43b. Are you: -

(1) ☐ AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN EXPECTED
(2) ☐ AT A LOWER LEVEL THAN EXPECTED

Go to question 45

44a. What is(are) the qualification(s) your are studying for?

.....

44b. At what level are you studying this?

.....

45. Please give details of other jobs since completing your Traineeship BEFORE your current position (most recent job first). **(YOU MAY INCLUDE A CV IF YOU WISH)**

A. JOB TITLE:- .....

NAME OF ORGANISATION .....

PERIOD EMPLOYED: - FROM ..... TO .....

LOCATION.....

DESCRIPTION OF YOUR MAIN DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILIITES IN POST

.....

.....

.....

B. JOB TITLE:- .....

NAME OF ORGANISATION .....

PERIOD EMPLOYED: - FROM ..... TO .....

LOCATION .....

DESCRIPTION OF YOUR MAIN DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILIITES IN POST

.....

.....

.....

C. JOB TITLE:- .....

NAME OF ORGANISATION .....

PERIOD EMPLOYED: - FROM ..... TO .....

LOCATION.....

DESCRIPTION OF YOUR MAIN DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILIITES IN POST

.....

.....

.....

continue overleaf if necessary

46. Have you ever been unemployed since completing the Traineeship?
(regardless of whether you signed on or not)

(1) ☐ YES *Answer question 47*
(0) ☐ NO *Go to question 50*

47. How many periods of unemployment, if any, have you experienced since completing your traineeship?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 3 PERIODS
(2) ☐ 4 - 6 PERIODS
(3) ☐ MORE THAN 6 PERIODS

48. For how long in total have you been out of work for, between now and completion of the Traineeship?

(1) ☐ LESS THAN 2 MONTHS
(2) ☐ 3 - 5 MONTHS
(3) ☐ 6 - 11 MONTHS
(4) ☐ 12 - 24 MONTHS
(5) ☐ MORE THAN 24 MONTHS

49. What was the longest period of unemployment due to at the time?

(1) ☐ TEMPORARY/SHORT-TERM CONTRACT
(2) ☐ REDUNDANCY
(3) ☐ DISMISSED
(4) ☐ TEMPORARILIY SICK/INJURED
(5) ☐ LEFT AS DISLIKED THE NATURE OF WORK
(6) ☐ COULD NOT FIND SUITABLE EMPLOYMENT
(7) ☐ LOCATION PROBLEM
(8) ☐ OTHER
please specify .....

GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT BARRIERS

50. Which of the following have you found to hinder your career development in general? (Tick as many as you wish)

(1) ☐ PERSONAL / DOMESTIC CIRCUMSTANCES
(2) ☐ LACK OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES
(3) ☐ LACK OF INFORMATION
(4) ☐ LACK OF EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS
(5) ☐ LACK OF WORK EXPERIENCE
(6) ☐ LONG-TERM SICKNESS/DISABILITY
(7) ☐ CULTURAL VALUES
(8) ☐ UNABLE TO GET MOTIVATED
(9) ☐ LACK OF SUITABLE WORK
(10) ☐ LACK OF ADEQUATE WAGE
(11) ☐ DISCRIMINATION *Answer 51*
(12) ☐ OTHER, please specify .....

51. If you ticked k) DISCRIMINATION was it because of discrimination on the grounds of

(1) ☐ AGE
(2) ☐ DISABILITY
(3) ☐ GENDER
(4) ☐ RACE
(5) ☐ RELIGION
(6) ☐ OTHER, please specify

.....

52. Do you have a mentor? (a mentor is someone within the organisation you are placed at (or employed in similar industry or occupation), who has no other formal responsibility for you as an individual, he/she can offer a work-based trainee support which complements that which is already available from line managers, tutors. A mentor is NOT your Supervisor or Manager)

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

53a. Is there anybody who has been particularly important to you as an example or a role model in making a decision about the future?

(1) ☐ YES *Answer 53b*
(0) ☐ NO *Go to question 54a*

53b. Whom is it? (e.g. Manager, friend and so on)

.....

54a. To what extent have you been **SUPPORTED and ENCOURAGED,** in terms of career development from the following?

	A LOT	SOME	NONE REQUIRED	NONE AVAILABLE
PARENTS				
PARTNER (boy/girlfriend/husband /wife)				
OTHER FAMILY				
FRIENDS				
COLLEAGUES				
OTHER				

54b. If you answered OTHER, please specify your relationship with this person

.....

55a. Were you born in Britain?

(1) ☐ YES *Go to question 56*
(0) ☐ NO *Answer 55b and 55c*

55b. In which country were you born?

.....

55c. In what year did you first come to Britain to settle?

.....

56. Do you have any health problems or disabilities which would affect any kind of paid work that you might do?

(1) ☐ YES
(0) ☐ NO

57. What is your ethnic group?

(1) ☐ BLACK AFRICAN
(2) ☐ BLACK CARIBBEAN
(3) ☐ BLACK OTHER
(4) ☐ INDIAN
(5) ☐ PAKISTANI
(6) ☐ BANGLADESHI
(7) ☐ CHINESE
(8) ☐ ASIAN OTHER
(9) ☐ WHITE
(10) ☐ OTHER please specify .....
(11) ☐ PREFER NOT TO SAY

ANY OTHER COMMENTS

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Your contribution to this piece of research is invaluable.

I will also be conducting some interviews with former Positive Action Trainees, such as yourself, to follow-up some of the issues explored in this questionnaire. If you would like to take part in an interview then please provide your details below. The information you have given in this form (and in any subsequent interview) will remain completely ANONYMOUS and CONFIDENTIAL.

Would you like to take part in a follow-up interview?

☐ YES, if so please complete your details below
☐ NO

CONTACT DETAILS

NAME.....

ADDRESS .....

.....

.....POSTCODE.....

DAY TEL .....MOBILE No.....

EVE. TEL .....

E-MAIL ADDRESS .....

APPENDIX E: Letters accompanying the survey to the respondents

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL LETTERHEAD

Date

Dear _____

Evaluation of Positive Action Training

I am a doctoral student at the University of Bristol carrying out an evaluation of Positive Action Training. As part of the research exercise I am conducting a survey of those individuals that have been on a Positive Action Traineeship.

The research exercise has a number of benefits: -

- Confidential, independent research
- Research findings aiding to establish the barriers that ethnic minorities face
- Enhance the strengths of the programme and address any weaknesses that you feel exist
- Inform policy and work towards reducing labour market disadvantages ethnic minority groups face.

I feel this is a very important piece of work and I am working with a national lobbying organisation, of which one of their aims is to advocate and campaign to influence government on issues on employment and training policy/programmes for ethnic minority groups.

As a former Positive Action trainee your input is extremely valuable, I would therefore appreciate it if you could complete the enclosed questionnaire, I assure you that your responses and comments will remain completely **CONFIDENTIAL** and **ANONYMOUS.** The research findings will be in aggregate form and **no one will have access to individual responses.**

If you would like to participate in the second stage of the research, which will involve a face-to-face interview, please include your contact details on the back page of the questionnaire. Again these will be carried out on a **CONFIDENTIAL** and **ANONYMOUS** basis.

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me on 0117 954 6809 or e-mail me at the following address: b.virk@bristol.ac.uk.

I would be very grateful if you could return the questionnaire by ____(date)____.

Your time is very much appreciated.

Kind regards

Baljinder Virk
Postgraduate Research Student

Encs

CEED LETTERHEAD

Date

Dear Trainee

Baljinder Virk is a post-graduate student at the University of Bristol carrying out research on labour market disadvantages that minority ethnic groups face.

The research aims to evaluate positive action traineeships and looks at ways in which they could be improved, highlighting strengths and the positive outcomes for trainees (such as job outcomes at the end), in order to secure improvements in what is provided.

A questionnaire is enclosed which she has designed and I would be grateful if you could fill it in and return it, directly to her in the freepost envelope provided. I can assure you that your responses will be completely confidential. Individual responses will not be seen by anyone within CEED.

To respect Data Protection, CEED have administered the mailout and your personal details have not been divulged.

Your kind assistance would be very much appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Ray Sefia
Managing Director

REMINDER LETTER [on University of Bristol letterhead]

1st May 2002

Dear Trainee

Evaluation of Positive Action Training

You may recall receiving a questionnaire from me relating to a research project I am carrying out at the University of Bristol.

As a result, I have not received many responses so far, therefore, the deadline has been extended. I would be extremely grateful to you if you could complete the questionnaire and return it to me as soon as possible.

I would like to remind you of the benefits and the reasons why this research exercise is being carried out: -

- Confidential, independent research
- Research findings aiding to secure future funding for positive action traineeships
- Enhance the strengths of the programme and address any weaknesses that you feel exist
- Inform policy and work towards reducing labour market disadvantages minority ethnic groups face.

I feel this is a very important piece and your input is vital to making any subsequent changes.

Again, I assure you that your responses and comments will remain completely **CONFIDENTIAL** and **ANONYMOUS.**

If you would like to participate in the second stage of the research, which will involve focus groups and face to face interviews, please include your contact details on the back page of the questionnaire.

If you require further copies of either the questionnaire, the freepost envelope or you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me on 0117 954 5561, or at the postal address below or alternatively you may e-mail me at the following address: b.virk@bristol.ac.uk.

Your time is very much appreciated.

Kind regards

Baljinder Virk
Postgraduate Research Student

I SINCERELY APOLOGISE IF YOU HAVE RETURNED YOUR QUESTIONANIRE

PRIZE DRAW

In order to express my gratitude for completing the questionnaire, you will be entered in a prize draw for Store vouchers for the value of £25.

If you would like to enter, please complete the questionnaire and fill in your details below. The prize draw does NOT commit you to any follow-up interviews. (However, if you would like to take part in follow-up interviews, please fill in the contact details on the back page of the questionnaire).

Many Thanks

Please enter me for the prize draw

My CONTACT DETAILS are: -

NAME.....
.....

ADDRESS
.....

.....
.....

APPENDIX F: Profile of survey respondents

Sex of respondent

Sex	Frequency	%
Male	31	49.2
Female	32	50.8
Total	63	100.0

The respondents were 49% male and 51% female. This represents the sex of the population group.

Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnicity	Frequency	%
Black African	13	20.6
Black Caribbean	25	39.7
Black Other	6	9.5
Indian	9	14.3
Pakistani	5	7.9
Chinese	1	1.6
Asian other	1	1.6
Other	3	4.8
Total	63	100.0

APPENDIX G: Dataset details from CEEDIS database

VARIABLE	DATA (No.)	No. OF MISSING VALUES
ADDRESS	316	13
AREA	285	44
CITY	312	17
POSTCODE	309	20
TDO	328	1
START DATE	329	0
END DATE	329	0
ETHNICITY	329	0
QUALIFICATION (in possession of)	288	29
LENGTH UNEMPLOYMENT (prior-PAT)	324	5
STATUS (post-CEED)	324	5
DATE APPLIED	264	65
SEX	329	0
AGE	302	27
COLLEGE	221	108
COURSE	178	151
ALLOWANCE	104	
QUALIFICATION AIM	321	8
ACHIEVED	231	98
TRAINEE TYPE	191	138
HOST PLACEMENT COST	74	225
CEED COST		
TOTAL COST		
TRAINING POST	235	94
ORGANISATION NAME	231	98
TOTAL NUMBER OF TRAINEES (PREVIOUS)	329	

APPENDIX H: Characteristics of interviewees

14 face to face interviews
8 focus group participants

	Age (at time of interview)	Gender	Ethnicity (self-defined)	Previous (P) / Current (C) trainee
1.	36	Male	Black British; Caribbean, Guyana	P
2.	32	Male	Asian; Indian	P
3.	23	Male	Indian and Pakistani; British-born	C
4.	28	Female	Black British; Caribbean descent	P
5.	32	Male	Pakistani	P
6.	52	Male	Black Other; Iranian	P
7.	40s	Female	Afro-Caribbean	P
8.	58	Male	Pakistani-Christian	P
9.	33	Female	Black-UK	P
10.	32	Male	Black African (Nigerian)	P
11.	51	Male	Black, West Indian, Jamaican	P
12.	41	Female	African-Irish	P
13.	32	Male	Black Caribbean	P
14.	30s	Female	Black Caribbean	P
15.	39	Female	Black British	C
16.	29	Female	Black Caribbean	C
17.		Male	Black African (Somalian)	C
18.		Female	Afro-Caribbean descent	C
19.		Male	Black Other	C
20.		Male	Black British	C
21.		Male	Pakistani	C
22.		Female	Black African (Nigerian)	C

Male = 13; Female = 9
Previous trainees = 13 ; Current trainees = 9

APPENDIX I: List of key informants

KEY INFORMANT		Case Study Bristol
Positive Action Training Organisation	Key informants	• Managing Director • Head of Training and Development (current and ex) • Training and Development Officers (current and ex)
Other initiatives	Local	• West of England Learning and Skills Council • Connexions West of England
Other organisations	Local National	• Bristol Racial Equality Council • Black Training and Enterprise Group • PATH (National) based in London

APPENDIX J: TOPIC GUIDES

Topic guide for Positive Action Training Trainees (PREVIOUS TRAINEES)

INTRODUCTIONS

- Introduce self and where from
- Remind who study for and purpose; QUESTIONNAIRE-ANONMOUS, therefore some questions repeated
- No right/wrong answers
- Assure confidentiality & anonymity
- Check OK to tape
- Check time avail

BACKGROUND DETAILS

- Age
- Ethnicity
- Born where; when moved to Bristol

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

- Age at which left school, one secondary school?
- Main qualification from college/uni; HIGHEST QUALIFICATION
- Any other quals/training courses (NOT CONNECTED TO TRAINEESHIP)
- Experiences at school/college (relevant?) [not positive action traineeship yet]

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY pre-traineeship

Can you talk me through work history, PRE-TRAINEESHIP

- Position - responsibilities; level
- Organisation - what do/make, length of time, reason for leaving

PRE-TRAINEESHIP

Pre-traineeship activity; what were you doing immediately prior to traineeship?

- unemployment periods: if so when and why, length; benefit claiming

- experience of previous government-funded programmes (prompt: e.g. Youth Training, Restart, Training for Work etc)

POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING PRORAMME

- Prior to traineeship did you know what positive action was before took on traineeship?
- Could you describe to me your understanding of what PAT is? (aims/objectives)
- How heard of PATH/PAC/CEED/ programme info; clarify if PATH/PAC/CEED then
- WHAT WAS YOUR REASON FOR DOING TRAINEESHIP
- Dates of traineeship; start and end date (1 year/2)
- Title as trainee
- Name of placement
- Role and responsibilities
- Qualifications working towards / experience gained
- Other training/specialist training
- How useful was training? In what ways? Did you feel it met your particular needs?
- Do you know the reason why your Host Placement took positive action trainee on?
- Did you feel supported by your TDO/ placement supervisor?
- Enjoy the period, if so/not, what and why
- Strengths (3)/weaknesses(3) of programme – suggestions to improvement
- Experience any problems during traineeship, if so, how solved
- Expected outcomes post-programme/future prospects, aims (e.g. get job, increase salary etc)
- Discrimination - (of any descriptions); direct or indirect [racism]? If so, what happened - due to trainee or other reason? How dealt with?

OVERALL, do you think PAT is effective in tackling under-representation of ethnic minorities in certain occupations/industries as it sets out to do?

- What would you have done if you had not done the traineeship; would you be where you are now, met your aims and ambitions?

POST-TRAINEESHIP

- What did you when the traineeship came to an end?
- Talk through jobs to current position
- How did you go about next steps?
- How useful was PAT?
- What aspects were most useful?
- Which were less useful?

CURRENT POSITION

- Currently employed? If so full-time/part-time
  If so, job title, where, when started (date)
- Name of organisation, sector (private, public, clarify if not sure)
- What do/make
- No. of employees, em staff

- Role & responsibilities, changed over the years?
  - Any management/supervisory responsibility; how many people manage/budget etc
  - Any training/qualifications studying for relating to job?

- Equal opps policy, what provisions to encourage em staff;
  in terms of careers development, training

- Experiences of that that hindered career development/any barriers in your way.

If so what are they, how can they be overcome?
(specific to local lm?)

GENERAL LM ISSUES/ BARRIERS

- Aspirations and intentions; attitudes to work; main barriers to employment/training; perception of the local job market;

  - what disadvantages faced in lab market?

Definition of LM Disadvantage:
"unequal access to resources within the population as a whole", resulting in eg. Un and occup segn

What do you think the problems or barriers were that you faced in particular?

Were these because of the following?

1. migration
2. expectations
3. alienation
4. family formation
5. structure of the economy
6. discrimination

blame self in that not good enough?

SUPPORT RE: CAREER

- What if any support have you received over the years, family, friends, colleagues
- Do you have a role model? If so who is it.

What suggestions would you make for improving PAT as you experienced it?

And what would the most important of these be?

End on positive note

Thank, reassure of confidentiality

Topic guide for Positive Action Training Trainees

FOCUS GROUP - CURRENT TRAINEES

INTRODUCTIONS

- Introduce self and where from
- Remind who study for and purpose;
- No right/wrong answers
- Assure confidentiality & anonymity; only I will transcribe and listen to tape
- Check OK to tape
- Check time avail

GROUND RULES: Not talk at the same time; if want me to explain s.thing

BACKGROUND DETAILS

- Name
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Length of traineeship (1/2 years)
- Title of traineeship (job title)
- Placement

PRE-TRAINEESHIP

- what were you doing immediately prior to traineeship (e.g. employed, full time education)
- if employed, what job title, why left
- unemployment periods: if so when and why, length; benefit claiming.
- experience of previous government-funded programmes (prompt: e.g. Youth Training, ND, Restart, Training for Work etc)
- used other support services, eg. Careers, Connexions, ES, if so/not pleased with service, why?

POSITIVE ACTION TRAINING PRORAMME

- Prior to traineeship did you know what positive action was before took on traineeship?

- You are PA trainees, If someone asked to you what PAT is, how would you describe it, how is it different from other training programmes
- Do you know the reason why your Host Placement took positive action trainee on?
- Is this readily understood at placement, do other staff know
- How heard of programme or about CEED
- WHAT WAS YOUR REASON FOR DOING TRAINEESHIP; probe (gain work experience, qualifications)
- Application procedure, what, how easy was it?
- Induction, what covered

Evaluation of traineeship

- Enjoying the period, if so/not, what and why
- Has traineeship lived up to your expectations so far?
- How often do you have contact with TDO?
- Do you feel supported by your TDO, explore relationship?
- Confident in their ability to help you? If yes, specific ways in which they have helped, if not why not
- Do you feel supported by your placement supervisor, explore relationship?
- Confident in their ability to help you? If yes, specific ways in which they have helped, if not why not?
- Are you pleased with college / college course, if not why not, suggestions for improvements

- Other training/specialist training, where
- Is course related to job
- What skills learned e.g. time mange, managerial, IT

- What aspects were most useful; what is working/enjoying
- Which were less useful
- What suggestions would you make for improving PAT as you experienced it?
- Anything not offered that would like to do?

- Experience any problems during traineeship, if so, how solved
- Discrimination - (of any descriptions); direct or indirect [racism]? If so, what happened - due to trainee or other reason? How dealt with?
- Do you think the traineeship has increased opportunities of getting a job?

OVERALL, do you think PAT is effective in tackling under-representation of ethnic minorities in certain occupations/industries as it sets out to do?

- what would you have done if you had not done the traineeship; how would you have meet your aims and ambitions?

POST-TRAINEESHIP

- What do you expect to do when your traineeship comes to an end? (get job/salary increase/study further)
- How much planned ahead
- Know where to look for jobs, get eg. of where look (newspaper)
- Know of support available?
- What kind of work will you look for? (same as traineeship)
- Type of organisation

GENERAL LM ISSUES/ BARRIERS

- Aspirations and intentions; attitudes to work; perception of the local job market
- Stay in bristol/s.glos, jobs avail, how easy to find work
- Do you believe you have been disadvantaged in the lab market? If so how? REASON, how overcome
- What were the barriers that hindered your career development (e.g. transport, children)
- Has traineeship helped to overcome these, if so how
- Any not able to overcome, why not
- What changes would you like to see in terms of equality/access/opportunity

  - what disadvantages faced in lab market?

Definition of LM Disadvantage:
"unequal access to resources within the population as a whole", resulting in eg. Un and occup segn

Were these because of the following?

1. migration
2. expectations
3. alienation
4. family formation
5. structure of the economy
6. discrimination

blame self in that not good enough?

SUPPORT RE: CAREER DEVELOPMENT

- What if any support have you received over the years, family, friends, colleagues

- Do you have a role model? If so who is it

ANYTHING ELSE TO ADD
End on positive note

Thank, reassure of confidentiality

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